

Public Engagement with Multiculturalism

A Social Representations Approach to Identity Dynamics in London and New York

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DECLARATION

I, Babette Stephanie Gekeler, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

(Babette Stephanie Gekeler)

DEDICATION

**TO MEMBERS OF MY INSPIRATIONAL FAMILY,
WHO LIVE IN ONE WORLD AND YET SO MANY**

ABSTRACT

In recent years, the word 'multiculturalism' has become a central preoccupation for scholars and the public alike. The term is inconsistently, yet increasingly, used as experts and lay people attempt to make sense of the national, ethnic and religious diversity that surrounds them in everyday life. Multiculturalism movements seek to achieve diversity, allowing different lifestyles, traditions and world-views to be recognized as legitimate. However, assimilation movements oppose such diversification, and foster the emergence of a 'global village'. It is within this binary context that individuals and groups oscillate between moving closer together and protecting the space of the self. Using Social Representation Theory as the central framework, this thesis aims to investigate the manifest and latent symbolic underpinnings of British and American public engagement with multiculturalism. Furthermore, the interplay between these representations and people's identity work is examined. Based on a rigorous, cross-cultural, qualitative design including 96 interviews with members of the general public in London and New York, major thematic tropes of public engagement with multiculturalism are extrapolated, and the meanings people attach to multiculturalism are explored. Results from this investigation show that social representations of multiculturalism are built upon the similarity/difference 'thema'. This 'thema' becomes evident in pragmatic manifestations such as food, geographical spaces (e.g. the city/outside the city), or symbolic spaces (e.g. comfort zone/moving outside

the comfort zone). Furthermore, pragmatic manifestations are underscored by normative evaluations of multiculturalism, including issues of open-mindedness/narrow-mindedness and familiarity/strangeness. Taken together, pragmatic manifestations and evaluations of multiculturalism are entwined with identity processes. Two systematic 'othering' processes are discussed accounting for the projection of unwanted, and the introjection of wanted elements of multiculturalism. People are found to avail themselves of 'cosmopolitan identity projects' in London and New York, where multiculturalism allows them to become more knowledgeable, open-minded and global.

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GLOSSARY

SRT	-	Social Representation Theory
SIT	-	Social Identity Theory
SCT	-	Self Categorization Theory
BN	-	British National
MB	-	Minority British National
FN	-	Foreign National
DN	-	Dual National
USw	-	White US National
USm	-	Minority US National
CIP	-	Cosmopolitan Identity Projects

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

We become not a melting pot but a beautiful mosaic. Different people, different beliefs, different yearnings, different hopes, different dreams (Jimmy Carter, 1924-, American Statesman, 39th President of the USA)

This thesis investigates social representations concerning multiculturalism within groups of the British and North American public. In addition, the thesis will investigate the relationship between lay people's understanding of multiculturalism and their identity work. The first chapter will outline the aims of the thesis, provide a definition of multiculturalism and outline Social Representation Theory as the framework used in this investigation. In addition, it gives a historical account of multiculturalism in Britain and the USA.

1.1 The aims of the thesis

The first aim of this thesis is to explore the phenomenon of multiculturalism from a lay perspective, and to compare how common-sense thinking concerning multiculturalism is manifest in the London and the New York public. In addition, the thesis uses a social representations approach to understand the content of what is represented when people think about multiculturalism, and how such representations are positioned amidst

associations of pleasure and threat. Finally, the thesis aims to contribute to the development of Social Representation Theory by looking at latent drivers of social representations concerning multiculturalism. For this, the thesis will make use of psychodynamic theory of identity work to investigate social representations concerning multiculturalism. It will examine how individuals position themselves in relation to multiculturalism. Individuals can either embrace or resist values relating to multiculturalism. The aim is to investigate how these values pertain to the formation of identities. The goal of the thesis is to forge a basis for investigating the construction of identities in multicultural contexts via a Social Representations approach assisted by ideas stemming from psychodynamic and social identity theories.

1.2 *Meaning and Context of Multiculturalism*

Multiculturalism takes on an important role in our shared lives. It has become more than a political description of the changes following from migration movements around the world. Multiculturalism has become both an idea and an explanation pertaining to a set of social psychological issues. The idea of multiculturalism is to create a space for the co-existence of different cultures. This raises questions of intergroup relations. The explanations of multiculturalism include both the human need to be different, and the need to create social groups. Such explanations link to questions of power relations, since social groups carry differences in status. Multiculturalism is an idea as complex as 'democracy' and an explanation as ever-present as 'race'.

In times of globalization, issues pertaining to multiculturalism spark renewed interest. Questions concerning multiculturalism tackle not only issues surrounding the co-existence of different cultures within one national context, but also challenge intergroup relations on a global scale. Hence, multiculturalism depicts meanings of co-existence and stands for an emerging context - the global world. While migration movements and cultural heterogeneity are as old as human history itself, the speed and the scale at which cultures face up to each other has changed since the advent of the internet, increased travel, and global economic interdependence. On one hand, multiculturalism has become a global project that connects disparate and diverse worlds, on the other, it is increasingly criticized since the events of September 11th 2001 and July 7th 2005.

Multiculturalism as context

The German sociologist, Ulrich Beck, argues that the interrelatedness of people and of populations around the globe can only be understood from a cosmopolitan perspective (Beck, 2006). Cosmopolitanism refers to a milieu of blurring differentiations and cultural contradictions. The national context attempts to harmonize cultural belonging, while the cosmopolitan context embraces the weakening of boundaries. A cosmopolitan perspective is able to frame the multicultural context as a place of threat and promise. Questions concerning multiculturalism challenge boundaries of culture, race, ethnicity, religion, gender, age and so on. Thus the notion of cosmopolitanism lies at multiculturalism's core. Multiculturalism delineates a complex context within

which intergroup relations are located. The shifting boundaries characterise an environment in which people can find themselves moving closer together, or protecting the space of the self.

Multiculturalism underpinned by normative meaning

In a multicultural context where different cultures meet, the values of different ways of life become salient, as they can be found in every sphere of everyday life. The intermingling of different cultures raises questions of rights and justice with regard to diverse claims. Underpinning the diverse claims that are being made by individuals and groups from different cultural backgrounds is a culturally embedded understanding of what is right and just. Social psychology can shed light on the implicit normative basis underlying the politics of multiculturalism. In addition, it can shed light on the interrelationship between norms and collective identity projects.

Since people base their understanding of who they are on their cultural frames of reference, identities are constructed according to social norms. Furthermore, the normative basis underpins individual and group evaluation of different ways of life co-existing in multicultural contexts. In other words, according to such normative systems, multicultural contexts are rendered pleasurable or threatening. The evaluation of multicultural contexts, in turn, can influence the relationship between different social groups in that context. Thus, the experience of multiculturalism is closely linked to the normative meaning that underpins it.

The multicultural context and the normative evaluations that underpin it are the focus of this thesis. This context is described as a cosmopolitan western world in which groups oscillate between moving closer together and protecting the space of the self. This thesis attempts to extend the macro-level debates around economic and political globalization processes, by moving into a micro-level understanding of how the social sciences, particularly those concerned with a more psychological dimension, can inform this debate. Social psychology, in particular, is useful for explaining dynamics at work in multicultural environments, as it addresses the subjective experience without disregarding the construction of subjectivity as shaped by social forces (Joffe, 2001). Such social forces can explain how the 'we' is sedimented in the 'I' (ibid.). Individuals, as well as processes that lie beyond the individual, play a crucial role in forging inter-personal and inter-group relations in multicultural environments.

1.3 A Social Representations Approach to Multiculturalism

Social Representation Theory will be used as a key theoretical framework to investigate how people make sense of multiculturalism and how it is used as a part of people's identity work. The theory is used to explore how people make sense of their social world and social issues within that world. Multiculturalism is a social issue of particular relevance in contemporary social life. The advent of global social networking platforms such as Facebook or Twitter, as well as the increase in global partnerships (Beck, 2006), are but a few aspects

highlighting the relevance of the issue. Furthermore, critics argue that via policies of multiculturalism nations have been 'sleepwalking towards segregation' (Phillips 2005; Kymlicka, 2010). This trend has led to a rise in global anxieties highlighting the stresses and failures of ethnic relations. Kymlicka (2010) describes four ills multiculturalism is blamed for: the residential ghettoisation and social isolation of immigrants; an increased stereotyping and hence prejudice and discrimination between ethnic groups; political radicalism (particularly amongst Muslim youth) and the perpetuation of illiberal practices amongst immigrant groups, for example restricting the rights and liberties of girls and women (Kymlicka, 2010).

While critics say these problems are not new, they have been ignored for decades due to a 'naïve ideology of multiculturalism' (Kymlicka, 2010), which promotes separate ethnic groups to maintain their own territorial spaces, political values and cultural traditions. Kymlicka (2010) argues that the dominant narrative about multiculturalism, especially in Europe, is based on the idea that citizens 'applauded themselves for their tolerant, live-and-let-live attitude towards immigrants, while ignoring levels of segregation and marginalization' (p. 46).

However, there is a further dimension to the debate around multiculturalism. Kymlicka (2010) argues that the debated need of a retreat from multiculturalism is more rhetorical than real. He argues that little if any evidence suggests multiculturalism to be causally responsible for social ills, such as segregation, prejudice, radicalism and oppression. For example,

European countries, which adopted multiculturalism policies (i.e. Netherlands, UK) do not seem to suffer more from these social ills than European countries, which did not adopt such policies (i.e. France and Austria).

People are surrounded by political and public debates concerning multiculturalism. As a social issue multiculturalism is particularly interesting, as the debate around it involves images of threat and fear as well as images of tolerance and celebration of diversity. These tensions make multiculturalism an interesting social phenomenon for a social psychological investigation. Kymlicka (2010) claims that only through the investigation of a complex bundle of both positive and negative trends can the experience of multiculturalism be understood. This thesis aims to contribute to this understanding by using Social Representation Theory to look at the ways people make sense of the world around them and, in turn, give meaning to this world.

Social Representation Theory is concerned with understanding how representations evolve, and why they are created (Joffe, 2003). It places strong emphasis on the symbolic and emotive factors involved in representing social objects. In addition, discursive work on identities in multicultural Britain stresses the importance to consider how social actors themselves construct and communicate diverse social realities (Hopkins & Kahani-Hopkins, 2009) and how social identities remain defined in relation to a disputed and negotiated context (Reicher & Hopkins, 2001). Such work highlights the representational nature of identities in diverse social settings. No research in

the field of Social Representation Theory has thus far systematically investigated the public's understanding of the term 'multiculturalism', the emotive and symbolic factors involved in this representation and its link to the construction of identities. In other words, this thesis explores how people make sense of the experience of multiculturalism in the two highly diverse cities of London and New York.

1.4 Historical Perspective on Multiculturalism: UK and USA

The mixing of cultures is as old as human history. From ancient Rome up to the present day, groups have faced 'foreigners', to exchange goods or to fight. While the existence of movement amongst populations is historically well established, the mobility and accessibility of populations has changed significantly since the late 20th Century. These changes have caused issues surrounding multiculturalism to come to the fore in contemporary social life.

Military conquest and subsequent territorial expansion are the most common ways in which ethnic groups have spread their cultural influence (Watson, 2000). Culture in this sense relates to ways of thinking and acting. Furthermore, culture is a set of commonly shared experiences of a collective of people. Although culture offers people a basis for making sense of experience, and provides an orientation in the world, culture is consistently modified and transformed. With the emergence of nation-states in the 19th Century, culture began to be defined by national labels. These labels entrenched culture as stable and impermeable. Culture became essentialised as part of the Nation-State. However, characteristics of one cultural label are

likely to resemble little of what passed under the same label a century ago. This thesis investigates the British and American cultural context. In order to understand the contemporary cultural climate in which multiculturalism is located, this section will provide a short historical account of multiculturalism in Britain and North America.

Both countries have a longstanding history of immigration that makes for an interesting context in which to study the public's understanding of multiculturalism. According to Watson (2000), the diffusion of cultures is prevalent, and history often illustrates a slow growing together of ideas, knowledge, private habits and public ways of behaving. Notwithstanding particular constellations of power, such dynamics lead to a unique set of cultural characteristics, which manifest themselves in everything from patterns of domestic consumption and styles of architecture, to systems of government, legal institutions, and literary genres.

1.4.1 Multiculturalism in the United Kingdom

A unified British culture emerged at the end of the 19th Century. A strong sense of British identity was fuelled by the successful pursuit of a colonial empire overseas, and the consolidation of the Industrial Revolution at home. The strong commitment to Protestantism was the most important single factor in unifying the nation (Colley, 1992). However, differences in what the population of the country experienced as Britishness, and feelings of being part of the nation, varied according to class structure, region of the country, ethnic status, and so on. Homogenization processes were fuelled by the

spread of communications, i.e. through newspapers and education, disseminating a shared common culture. Further aspects supporting such homogenization included the standardization of the language and the unification of political and economic institutions. While established immigrant groups began to form part of political life, new immigrants continued to arrive and settle in the country.

Immigrant groups settled in particular residential areas which became characterized by the group's distinctive ways of life. In so far as these ways became visible to the population at large, they represented not so much an alien presence, as a certain degree of 'otherness'. Jews from Central and Eastern Europe, Spanish Sephardic communities, Italian migrants, Irish workers, Chinese and Indian sailors, a handful of Eastern students and businessmen, all contributed in one way or another to the changing contours of the landscape of British society (Watson, 2000).

Despite sporadic racist violence, the first few decades of the 20th Century were relatively tolerant (Watson, 2000). Anchored in a stable British sense of identity, the dominant white British believed that within a few generations' migrants would master English ways, and a British public sphere would be maintained, while the original culture of immigrant groups could be retained within the privacy of their homes and places of worship (Watson, 2000). The idea underlying this understanding was that differences would not be publicly visible, and hence migrants would become thoroughly integrated within British society. It was thought that 'foreign ways' would become integrated and enrich

the cultural life of the nation, for example via additions in terms of cuisine or professional specialization. However, before the second half of the century, the number of ethnic minority immigrants, for example from Asia or Africa, was small, and immigrants were not part of a large ethnic or religious immigrant group.

In the 1950s, increasing numbers of Commonwealth migrants came to meet the needs of the labour market, and visible communities emerged in London and other major industrial towns. It was during this period that *fin de siècle* beliefs about other cultures entered into popular imagination. Those *fin de siècle* beliefs were based on images that pertained to stereotypical traits attributed to cultural 'others'. Those images ignited imagination portraying the cultural 'other' as alien, and either threatening or ridiculous (Watson, 2000).

The media represented 'cultural others' on the basis of established stereotypical beliefs. Media descriptions included differences in physical appearance, pagan beliefs, superstitions and further accounts of the Oriental and African 'other' as lacking in the culture and civilization of the Christian West. The alien, non-European was portrayed as threatening or ridiculous in media images. Through the media, suspicion was raised and contempt sedimented for the non-European. The hostility of this period was reflected in race riots, such as the Notting Hill Race Riot of 1958.

In addition, the process of decolonialization fostered a negative representation of the nationalist politicians that were left behind in the decolonised regions

through the use of inflammatory epithets – terrorists, saboteurs, and communists. References to acts of barbarism and violence had the cumulative effect of distancing the European from the non-European, and confirmed the Victorian image of African benighted savagery in desperate need of Western enlightenment. At times the non-European was represented sympathetically. However this representation took either the guise of the ‘trustworthy servant’ or the ‘Anglophile aristocrat’ and, in both cases, the image was one of ‘amusing contempt – a tolerance for the ludicrous and the pretentious’ (Watson, 2000, p.94). Throughout the 1950s, the dominant white belief grew that non-white others were accepted in their place, yet should not try to reach beyond themselves, either through social mobility or intermarriage. Among other factors such as the changing economic conditions of the time, it was this new conceptualisation that led to a sense of separateness, and the desire to maintain social and cultural differences. At the same time, adherence of the ‘other’ to social conventions and national laws were closely monitored (Watson, 2000). These extensive and damaging representations of other cultures produced in the 1950s continued to linger in the popular imagination and were transmitted down the generations and represented in the media (Watson, 2000).

Multiculturalism came to describe both the problems and promises of living in a post-colonial mix. Multicultural policies were adopted in the UK in the ’70s and ’80s, particularly under Tony Blair’s government. Such policies pertained to questions of how the state affects the political accommodation of minority cultures. These multicultural politics sought to address the legacy of colonialism and conquest. They provided a basis for a rethinking by the state

of the composition of the nation, and a concession that national institutions and narratives needed to reckon with the populations formerly excluded from national stories.

In 1966, Roy Jenkins, the Home Secretary at the time, made his well-known case for a policy of integration rather than assimilation. Public opinion since then developed an appreciation of ideas pertaining to integration policies, which ascribed other (non-British) cultures and religions with a quintessential difference. This essentialised difference still colours attitudes to multiculturalism and race relations in Britain. Such opinions and attitudes are expressed in relation to questions relating to freedom of religious expression, multilingual education, the nature of entrenched racism in British social and political institutions, colour-blindness and affirmative action. All these questions evolve around the attempt to reconcile a principle of difference with one of equality. The echoes of these debates in the government chambers reverberate in the fantasy life of the everyday person. Intercultural marriage, black and Asian novelists, politicians and high-flyers, international fusion in music and cuisine, film and television and the speed and ease of international travel, all indicate that British society is undergoing a major change in its attitude to cultural diversity. Nonetheless, the questions remain concerning who and what can 'be' essentially British and what elements of 'otherness' Britain wants to retain.

1.4.2 Multiculturalism in the United States of America

The historical background to similar debates and discussions in the USA has been substantially different, and the issues at the forefront of public consciousness also differ (Watson, 2000). A shift in the attitudes towards multiculturalism in Britain occurred as a consequence of the influx of New Commonwealth immigrants in the 1950s. This brought about a rethinking of the nature and essence of Britishness. One can argue that the major shift in Americans' perceptions of themselves occurred at the same time, but not as a consequence of new immigration. It was a direct result of the civil rights movement.

The American national myth surrounding a belief in national unity has been termed the 'melting pot' idea. This metaphor symbolises the total assimilation of any American under what is nationally understood as 'American'. John Jay first formalized these notions of unity in his essay Federalist No. 2, published on October 31, 1787 (Jay, 1787). The essay deals with the protection of the United States from dangerous foreign influences (particularly of a military nature) and states: "Providence has been pleased to give this one connected country to one united people — a people descended from the same ancestors, speaking the same language, professing the same religion, attached to the same principles of government, very similar in their manners and customs [...] This country and this people seem to have been made for each other, and it appears as if it was the design of Providence, that an inheritance so proper and convenient for a band of brethren, united to each

other by the strongest ties, should never be split into a number of unsocial, jealous, and alien sovereignties.” (Jay, 1787, Federalist No.2, p.1).

Prior to the Civil Rights movement, American culture and identity was mapped in two competing yet complementary frameworks. The first, and most influential one, was the Anglo-American tradition associated with the Founding Fathers of the Republic, combining Enlightenment traditions of the 18th Century with both a Protestant ethic of Puritan communities, and the more luxurious lifestyles of a wealthy plantocracy. The culture was characterized by Christian morality, Western scientific thought, French manners and English styles of expression, not only in language but also in institutions (Watson, 2000). A second and less pronounced account of Americanness was the culture of the immigrants from Ireland, Scandinavia, Germany, central Europe, the Mediterranean countries (especially Italy), and the Far East. All these immigrant communities brought their own distinctive religious traditions, economic orientations, patterns of family relationships, and sense of identity. As a result of their distinctiveness, they had little in common, and they could set up nothing together in opposition to the Anglo-Protestant tradition that was already well established by the end of the 19th Century.

What united all in America was a common pioneering spirit of enterprise, and a desire to succeed. This spirit was instilled in people through national messages representing another American national myth, namely the ‘pursuit of happiness’. This was a driving force for new migrants, who engaged with this spirit. These new immigrants declared themselves to be proudly

American, and yet pursued the cultural mores of their countries of origin. By the 1920s, the second and third generation of the pioneer immigrants had become completely Americanized. Pride and confidence in terms of being American replaced their parent's generations' dominant sentiment of gratitude with regard to being in America. America recognized that immigrant communities had not just received the benefits, but had made substantial contributions to American prosperity. The 'American way of life' represented the New World, distinguished from Europe, or the Old World. However, at this point, challenges were mounted against the supremacy of the Anglo-Protestant population. Immigrant communities, such as the Irish Catholics, German-Jewish migrants (Hornung, 1998) and the black population began to assert their sense of identity and cultural and historical distinctiveness. These voices called for recognition in the official debates about Americanness, which were lead by the established Anglo-Protestant part of America.

Given the nascent state of American culture at the time, there was every opportunity for immigrant communities to register the demands of their presence in the nation at large. In particular, forms of expression which posed no challenge to the dominant political and religious creed, such as jazz or the Harlem Renaissance, were cultural additions that found their way into mainstream American culture. It was during this period that ideas related to 'hyphenated identity' emerged. People began to regard themselves as Italian-American, Polish-American, Chinese-American, and so on. This dual identity did not however impair or threaten a strong commitment to the democratic principles of the country, or to its legal or educational institutions.

In the 1950s, voices began to rise against those institutions failing to provide adequately for the black population of the country. Peaceful protest against the ignoring of Constitutional guarantees for the democratic rights of individuals were being heard, and the civil rights movement, led by men such as Martin Luther King, ultimately successfully extended civil rights to the black population of the country. Not only the success but the ways in which its campaigns were conducted led to a nationwide reappraisal of the nature of American identity and the position of minorities within the population. Traditions of American history with respect to the black slave population were re-evaluated. Part of that re-evaluation was the review of the manner in which the Native American had become the victims of a sometimes savage process of violent suppression.

This new national awareness of the experience of non-white communities and their special position within American society has subsequently led to new policy initiatives. These policies were tackled in such a way as to bring to that collective consciousness the experiences of those immigrant communities which had previously been erased or omitted from the official histories. Within the 1980s and 1990s two significant developments emerged from the collective acknowledgment that the past and the future would have to be attended to by action in the present. First, cultural heritage was re-created in heritage sites, theme parks and museums, emphasising a rediscovery of the traditions and experiences of minorities. Secondly, educational and employment sectors introduced affirmative action policies in order to redress

the inherent disadvantages from which minorities suffered as a consequence of their structural position within the economy. Attempts to raise awareness of disempowerment were bound up with policies of affirmative action. Together, they advocated ways of socially interrelating with others. New ways of speaking were promoted that ran counter to what was common everyday practice. This has become known as 'politically correct behaviour'. These issues have led to a continued critical debate around issues of injustice and minority group empowerment. Injustice and empowerment in turn govern much of the debate around multiculturalism.

1.4.3 A historical context for a social psychology of multiculturalism

Watson (2000) compares the issues pertaining to multiculturalism in Britain and the USA. He argues that, while in the USA social exclusion of ethnic groups lay at the heart of debate surrounding multiculturalism, arguments about religious freedom, ritual practice and religious exclusion were dominant in the debate in Britain. Furthermore, issues pertaining to religion did not find comparable resonance in the USA. Furthermore, the centrality of the history of black slavery, the black slave population and Native Americans is not comparable to anything in Britain. Cultural problems which the US face owe more to language difficulties than to fundamentally different religious orientation, due to the majority of new immigrant populations coming from the Hispanic countries of the Caribbean and Mexico. By contrast, in Britain, the settlement of Muslim immigrants whose religious traditions were and still are

not familiar to the host population, add a new dimension to the question of integration.

Notably, in both countries, public understanding of multiculturalism and the policy-making around multicultural issues emerged from the very specific historical experience of the reception of different communities of immigrants, each with a unique demographic and cultural impact on the nation.

The USA has accommodated different waves of substantial numbers of migrants at different periods. The cumulative experience of assimilating and integrating those populations, combined with the shameful legacy of the past, has led to a greater sensitivity to multicultural differences. It has created what has become known as the 'melting pot' model of diversity. In Britain, immigration rose sharply from the mid 20th Century onwards, and became more visible. Immigrants were able to create their own communities, characterised by their cultural origin. However, within the British public sphere, the majority expected that immigrants would turn British within two or three generations. Britain's approach to multiculturalism has created a 'cultural mosaic' model of diversity, a term that describes the acceptance of different cultural and religious communities. For example, this acceptance allowed for the creation of various places of worship in the British public sphere. While minority communities become integrated into the British public sphere, they remained separate from the British majority. This separation of diverse immigrant groups and the majority in Britain has led to a *laissez-faire* response to the presence of ethnic minorities. Modood (1992), for example,

argues that to place British people of South Asian descent in a catch-all category of 'black' along with British of Afro-Caribbean descent, is to perpetuate the unhelpful blanket approach to social and economic issues.

On the one hand, Britain and the USA share a common vocabulary of terms when it comes to discussing multiculturalism. They also share a common position with respect to the philosophy of democratic liberalism and civil liberties (Watson, 2000). On the other hand, they have developed diverging approaches on the basis of liberal principles, namely the melting pot and the cultural mosaic. Further, they diverge in terms of the priorities assigned to public policy as a consequence of their respective historical legacies. While in the US, questions around racial issues are the ones that are focused on particularly, issues surrounding religious diversity are a central preoccupation in the UK.

The ways in which historical legacies influence public understanding of multiculturalism has not yet received enough attention. Public understanding is determined by the very specific historical experience of the reception of different communities of immigrants (Watson, 2000). The focus of this thesis is to explore lay people's understanding of the notion of 'multiculturalism' in the light of these historical legacies. Contemporary debate on multiculturalism in Britain and the USA ought to include the social and psychological dimensions of the everyday sphere. Furthermore, understanding the influence of historical legacies in the construction of public understanding can help to illuminate the current debate around multiculturalism.

1.5 Chapter Overview

This thesis is organized in the following way to extrapolate experiences of multiculturalism in London and New York:

Chapter 2 looks at social psychological research relating to questions surrounding multiculturalism and assimilation. Research into assimilation handles questions surrounding similarity, attraction and categorization, while research into multiculturalism deals with difference, cultural maintenance and contact. Moreover, alternative perspectives in relation to the predominant approach to these questions are outlined. The chapter closes with a summary of the sociological notion of cosmopolitanism. This perspective buttresses a historical and psychological framework to multiculturalism, and addresses questions of inclusion.

Chapter 3 gives a broad overview of the theoretical background of Social Representation Theory (henceforth SRT) with its two key functions, namely making familiar what is not, and enabling shared knowledge through communication. Furthermore, the chapter outlines theoretical developments within SRT and dialogical theory. Previous research in the field of multiculturalism and social representations is then outlined, and further research that needs addressing is identified.

Chapter 4 addresses psychoanalytic notions of the processes involved in constructing one's identity. Object-relations Theory, work by Rosine Perelberg, and Postcolonial Critique are summarised in order to provide an overview of the body of theory that can assist social representations work on identity. In addition, work that has availed itself of this body of theory is outlined, and the aims and objectives of this thesis are integrated.

Chapter 5 outlines methodological considerations surrounding the qualitative research paradigm used in this thesis, and its cross-cultural research design.

Chapter 6 constitutes the first results chapter. It consists of an overview of the major themes emerging in public talk with regard to multiculturalism, both in London and New York. The second results chapter, Chapter 7, looks at the evaluation and emotive underpinnings of multiculturalism. The third results chapter, Chapter 8, is concerned with cross-cultural differences in representations of multiculturalism. It first looks at the specific content in the London sample, followed by the same in the New York sample.

Chapter 9 discusses the results in light of structure and identity-relevant processes associated with social representations of multiculturalism. Finally, Chapter 10 addresses the theoretical implications, methodological considerations, and policy implications and offers a conclusion.

CHAPTER 2

MULTICULTURALISM IN SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY AND THE SOCIOLOGY OF COSMOPOLITANISM

2.1 Multiculturalism in Social Psychology

I never know, although I use the term myself
occasionally, quite what people mean when they
talk about multiculturalism.
(Tony Blair, BBC, 2005)

Looking back, in recent years, the word “multiculturalism” has become a central preoccupation for scholars and the public alike. Experts and lay people try to make sense of what Kelly (2002) terms ‘circumstances of multiculturalism’. These ‘circumstances of multiculturalism’ refer to pluralism in the sense of the intermingling of national, ethnic and religious cultures through group migration. Relevant to this debate is the meaning of difference, and the construction of ‘us’ and ‘them’. This investment in differences amongst groups and individuals lies at the root of much discussion in social psychology. This chapter will outline major strands of social psychological research pertaining to questions surrounding multiculturalism, followed by an outline of how this thesis complements previous work.

While theories within social psychology highlight the social and historical importance of contexts within which intergroup differentiation takes place, they focus on group differentiation. Thus, with the exception of Intergroup Contact Theory (see p. 52), the emphasis in the social psychological literature on multiculturalism is a rather negative, conflict-driven outlook on intergroup relations, investigating people's positive association with the similar (in-group members), and the resulting differentiation from what is different (Tajfel and Turner, 1986). As Jost et al. (2004) stresses, most theories in social and political psychology accentuate self-interest, intergroup conflict, ethnocentrism, homophily, in-group bias, out-group antipathy, dominance, and resistance. This view of intergroup relations has helped to reveal structures of hatred, prejudice and conflict. The human ability to perform evil has been the focus of much academic attention following the atrocities of the Second World War. Notwithstanding the importance of the research into intergroup conflict, this emphasis neglects the possible positive dimension that multiculturalism can add to the body of intergroup dynamics, namely inclusion, social justice or mutual respect (Fowers & Davidov, 2006). As Billig (1985; 1987) says, it pays to reverse a theory that appears plausible, for the reverse will also be plausible. This thesis investigates both the positive and negative aspects of intergroup relations in the subjective experiences of individuals.

Moghaddam (2010) asks why violent intergroup conflicts, tense intergroup relations and increased radicalization of certain major religious groups durably persists, despite the long historical presence of such 'circumstances of multiculturalism'. He raises questions concerning ways in which relations

amongst different groups can be improved. Managing diversity in a global society requires a more complex understanding of the policies at hand to find solutions. According to Moghaddam (2010), both assimilation and multiculturalism struggle amidst two globalization processes, which are related to what he coined as 'fractured globalization' (p. 15). The first globalization process, associated with assimilation, was part of a movement that attempted to make the world a 'global village' and to merge the world into one. The other globalization process, associated with multiculturalism, was a counter-reaction – a separatist movement - where distinct communities or groups (re-)affirmed their national or cultural origins and tried to literally or figuratively withdraw into themselves. This second process is coupled with a return to the 'local' as a reaction to the insecurity and resistance that results from the first process.

Generally, the field of social psychology of intergroup relations can be categorized in terms of several levels of analysis (Doise, 1997). Research can focus on the ideological dimension, look more closely at the inter-group (or positional) level, or focus on the individual level. Operating on an ideological level, the end goal of multiculturalism is the highlighting, strengthening and celebration of intergroup differences, while assimilation has the ultimate goal of washing away intergroup differences (Moghaddam, 2010). At the policy level, this means that multicultural policy underscores the idea that individuals can become more constructive citizens when their identity is firmly rooted in their distinct collective heritage cultures. Conversely, assimilation policy predicts improved intergroup relations through homogenization processes. Psychological research at the intergroup level regarding multiculturalism

stresses intergroup differences and the maintenance of different cultural identities within the same political framework (Fowers & Richardson, 1996). In contrast, psychological research into assimilation focuses on the creation of a society in which groups are as similar as possible in terms of cultural ideology and national identity.

At various levels of analysis, the end goals with regard to multiculturalism and assimilation are based on opposing assumptions. The foundation of the psychological research that pertains to these opposing goals is laid out below. This thesis will focus on a range of research into each of the two assumptions. Offering an overview of assimilation research, which is largely interested in the principle of intergroup similarity, minimal group paradigm studies, Social Identity Theory and Self-Categorisation Theory are described. Following this, an overview of multiculturalism research is provided. This focuses largely on issues surrounding intergroup differences. The overview will include discussions of cultural maintenance, Intergroup Contact Theory and Acculturation Theory.

2.1.1 Assimilation – Similarity, Attraction and Categorization

Pertaining to the intergroup or positional level of analysis (Doise, 1997), assimilation aims to achieve a more homogenous society though minimizing intergroup diversity and maximizing intergroup similarities. It has been largely associated with the '*melting pot*' model in America, where individuals are celebrated under the banner of American unity and a commonly created

American identity. Another form of assimilation relates to the absorption of minority groups into the mainstream majority culture. It is in both cases associated with the homogenizing impact of globalization at the international level, resulting in a global village with increased similarities between all people around the world.

Operating on interpersonal and intergroup levels of analysis (Doise, 1997), evidence promoting assimilation stems from the idea that humans typically express their alliances in terms of greater or lesser similarity to one another. This notion is reflected in social psychology amongst other social sciences (Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Verkuyten & Brug, 2004; Verkuyten, 2005a). One key assumption of such research is that societies that have emerged in human history remain reliant on this principle of similarity. The axiom behind this assumption is that, by bonding together, people implicitly separate themselves from 'others'.

Tajfel and colleagues in 1971 initially attempted to identify the minimum conditions that would lead members of one group to discriminate in favour of the in-group to which they belonged, and against another out-group. Tajfel's (1970) *minimal group paradigm* (MGP) research suggests that social categorization is a sufficient antecedent of in-group in terms of favouring discrimination. This bias is shown to persist, even when the differences between the in-group and the out-group are trivial on an objective basis. Such trivial differences include group members not knowing the identities of in-group and out-group members, when they will not interact with them in the

future, or when bias shows no direct reward for group members (Oakes & Turner, 1980; Tajfel et al., 1971).

More recent research on internet behaviour shows that group members (surfers) perceiving their own group performance as superior on a cognitive task as compared with that of the other group. Even the allocation of people to a group on a trivial basis is likely to create a situation of in-group favouritism (Amichai-Hamburger, 2005). However, other studies refute this claim. Hartstone and Augostinos (1995) suggest that the two-group minimal group experiment shows in-group bias because a dichotomous categorization primes a competitive orientation. A two-group context may be particularly effective in evoking an 'us versus them' contrast. Comparing the results of three minimal groups with those of a baseline two-group, experiments show that a three-group structure displays no significant in-group bias (Hartstone & Augostinos, 1995). Self-categorization as a group member is more likely to occur in the presence of two groups, whereas three minimal groups render an 'us-them' contrastive orientation less salient. This finding could have interesting implications in a multicultural environment which, by virtue of its nature is characterized by plural rather than dichotomous group categories.

On the basis of the MGP, Tajfel and colleagues developed the dominant theory in the social psychology of intergroup relations, namely Social Identity Theory (SIT) (Tajfel, 1970; Tajfel and Turner, 1986). SIT tries to explain collective behaviour in general, and collective conflict in particular (Reicher, 2004). SIT predicts that the more strongly individuals identify with the in-group, the more negatively biased they will be against out-groups.

Beyond this initial work, SIT spread fast to areas such as attitudes and behaviour, de-individuation, group cohesion, performance and decision-making, leadership, social influence and stereotypes (Brown, 2000). Operating predominantly on an individual level of analysis, SIT addresses the relationship of the individual to the group, and the emergence of collective phenomena from individual cognitions (Brown, 2000). SIT established the basis for placing an emphasis on the importance of the social world surrounding individuals. It can therefore be said to have turned away from the traditional use of cognitive psychological universals in explaining the social domain (Reicher, 2004). It is psychological in that it investigates the universal cognitive and motivational basis of *intergroup differentiation* (Brown, 2000). According to Social Identity Theory (SIT, Tajfel & Turner, 1986), one's identity consists of personal identity—the conceptualization of the self in relation to others, and social identity—aspects of the self-concept derived from the person's membership of salient social groups. Social identity can be comprised of many synchronous and overlapping components, including gender, ethnic, religious, and national identities. Thus, social identities lie at the heart of the constitution of multiculturalism, and therefore define cultural identities as well.

SIT's *cognitive-motivational hypothesis* (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) suggests that people belonging to different social groups will discriminate against relevant out-groups in order to maintain a positive distance from such groups. Relevant out-groups get compared with the in-group on certain valued dimensions, such as financial status or political influence. As a result of such positive distinctions, self-esteem is enhanced within the in-group. This quest for

positive distinctiveness means that people's sense of who they are is defined in terms of similarity to others. This attachment to others emphasises the 'we' rather than the 'I'. Evidence for positive group distinctiveness stems from a study of Dutch adolescents that found that higher in-group evaluations are associated with greater prejudice towards foreigners, and towards people who differ from the members of the group (Masson & Verkuyten, 1993). The importance of the similarity paradigm has also been a focus of Kahan and colleague's research on risk and policy issues (Kahan, Jenkins-Smith & Braman, forthcoming). Kahan and colleagues claim that various in-group and out-group dynamics such as group polarization, could motivate individuals to trust those who share their cultural allegiances, and distrust those who do not, when cultural groups disagree about risk or other factual issues relevant to policy. Such ideas relate to the cognitively active role individuals have in the delineation between their in-group and out-groups.

The hypothesis put forward by Tajfel and Turner (1979) identifies three variables important with regard to the emergence of in-group favouritism. First, the extent to which individuals identify with an in-group in order to internalize group membership as an aspect of their self-concept. Second, the extent to which the social context provides grounds for comparison between groups. Thirdly, the perceived relevance of the comparison group, which itself will be shaped by the relative and absolute status of the in-group. Individuals are likely to display favouritism when an in-group is central to their self-definition and a given comparison is meaningful, or the outcome is contestable.

However, the nature of in-group favouritism becomes contested in multicultural contexts. Group boundaries can be hard to identify, and contestable outcomes can exacerbate in-group favouritism, based on a lack of clarity with regard to in-group boundaries. In other words, 'us' and 'them' dynamics become blurred in multicultural contexts by the lack of boundaries, and this leads to an ensuing confusion concerning who is 'us' and who is 'them'. In part, the variability of groups is so immense that everyone can share some form of group membership with many other groups across ethnic, religious and cultural boundaries.

SIT (Tajfel, 1970; Tajfel & Turner, 1986) has given birth to a theory adhering to processes of group formation on the basis of continuous differentiation, namely Self-Categorization Theory (SCT). SCT begins with the premise that people are first and foremost social beings. Following from this, cognitive and psychological processes, such as categorization, are motivated and shaped by social group memberships and identities (Oakes, Haslam & Turner, 1994).

Research emanating from this theory has focused on the role of rational, cognitive processes in creating the similarity that underlies positive distinctiveness. In particular, it looks at processes that transform individuals into group members. Such processes presuppose that people perceive social reality in terms of social categories to which they either see themselves as belonging, or not (Chryssochoou, 2004). SCT shows how uniform behaviour can result from the internalisation of in-group concepts and from the

categorical attributes of in-group members (Turner et al., 1987, in Brown, 2000). Simon (1997) theorises how, through uniform behaviour in the process of self-categorization, 'me' is turned into 'us', and the contrast between 'us' and 'them' is accentuated. In the context of national identification, the theory has gained strong support. For example, Brown and colleagues (2001) found that national identification by itself was the most consistent predictor of xenophobic attitudes towards national out-groups (also found in Brown, Vivian & Hewstone, 1999; Gonzalez & Brown, 1999; Pettigrew, 1997).

Considerable controversy exists over why, when and how we categorize. However, categorization is considered a universal cognitive tendency, which serves to either simplify an overwhelmingly complex world, or render it more intelligible (Lakoff, 1987). Research into categorization goes back to the studies in cognitive psychology and the pioneering work of Eleanor Rosch on natural object taxonomies. Categorization refers to the process of identifying a stimulus as a member of one category, similar to others in that category, and different from members of other categories (Rosch, 1975; 1978). Categories order the world of stimuli in order to facilitate effective and efficient communication about the world. Like natural or non-social categories, social objects such as people, events, and actions also become identified and categorized (Augoustinos, 2001). Members of a social category share a common social identity through common features, and are thus categorized according to their group membership, such as race, gender, class, ethnicity, sexual orientation and religion. This categorization makes the social world meaningful (Lakoff, 1987). However, rarely does research shed critical light

onto the nature of 'naturalizing' such categories. Research should further investigate how such 'naturalizing' processes give way to the symbolic content and affective tinge of those categories.

Research surrounding issues of assimilation investigate the importance of similarity in intergroup relations. The possibility of future manufacturing of differences is predicted to serve as a basis for intergroup differentiation and discrimination. Research into assimilation highlights the tension between being drawn to the similar, and the threat posed by differences. The maintenance of group distinctiveness assists the continuous contrast between 'us' and 'them'. Therefore, working on the ideological level of analysis, assimilation policy supports homogenizing processes of social groups to foster in-group loyalties (Moghaddam, 2010). The formation of the European Union is one such attempt. However, assimilation and similarity come up against a limit when physical characteristics such as skin colour are considered. Such physical characteristics will continue to differentiate people, making it impossible to achieve assimilation on all criteria relevant to group-based differentiation and discrimination (Moghaddam, 2010). The problem of naturalizing the category of race in this context becomes particularly critical. As 'race' cannot transcend the notion of assimilation easily, it continuously finds its way back into research interests and practice (see for example Howarth (2004) for a discussion of the reiteration of racial categories).

2.1.2 Multiculturalism – Difference, Cultural Maintenance and Contact

Closely related to research questions around assimilation, are issues pertaining to multiculturalism. Pertaining to the intergroup level of analysis (Doise, 1997), multiculturalism has, as its end goal, the maintenance and celebration of group-based differences. It has been mainly associated with government and private sector policies that support cultural and linguistic diversity and the mobilisation of minorities. With its '*cultural mosaic*' model, multiculturalism offers an alternative psychological tenet to the melting pot idea: individuals can become more constructive citizens when their identity is securely rooted in their distinct collective heritage cultures, and their cultural group is esteemed for itself in the larger society.

A first line of research with regard to multiculturalism is looking into the readiness of immigrants to retain their *heritage cultures*. The retention of heritage for some minority cultures may mean becoming more visible targets for discrimination. Some research shows that social relations rely on visible differences to maintain discrimination, and diversity management can exacerbate this dynamic (Moghaddam, 2010). Thus, if minority communities remain more visible, this could be serving to make them easier targets for discrimination.

Despite any dangers of discrimination, multicultural and developmental theories have established a positive link between in-group affiliation and openness towards other groups (Phinney, Ferguson & Tate, 1997). The

multiculturalism hypothesis postulates that individuals with a positive and secure sense of their own culture will have positive attitudes toward other groups, as well as higher self-esteem. The developmental view assumes that a more secure ethnic identity should be associated with greater acceptance of other groups (Berry, 1984). There has been recent evidence that love and endorsement for the in-group is not a precursor of hate for out-groups, but rather the basis for acceptance of others and of their 'differentness' (Brewer, 1999; Halevy, Bornstein & Sagiv, 2008, Gekeler & Joffe, 2010).

Notwithstanding this evidence, intergroup relations in general, and in-group identification in particular, are associated with negative out-group bias. Recent empirical work shows that this is more the case for minority group members. The associative link between in-group identification and greater acceptance has been found predominantly for majority group members (Negy et al., 2003; Verkuyten, 2005a). This implies that the validity of the multiculturalism hypothesis holds only under limited conditions, and only for some groups. In contrast, Gekeler and Joffe (2010) show that greater in-group identification is more positively related to openness to multiculturalism for minority rather than for majority members. This could be due to the benefits offered by multiculturalism for minority groups with regard to status equality.

However, opposition to the idea that strong in-group identity relates positively to out-group attitudes, perceptions and emotions, stems from several lines of research. *Historical examples* show that groups espousing strong confidence in their heritage cultures are not necessarily accepting of out-groups (for

example the Nazis). Yet, it can be argued that such confidence is based on an inflated and unstable self-esteem (i.e. Baumeister, 1999). Furthermore, *socio-political influences* can manifest themselves in the perception of threat and feelings of risk and fear. As Fowers and Glaser (2006) argue, openness to the 'other' is not necessarily naturally present in individuals. Due to the developmental process of socialization, individuals internalize ethnocentric, racist, or stereotypical beliefs as they are acculturated in cultural, racial, religious and other well-established groups. Messages in the public sphere resonating reunification, nationalisation and reassertion of the national culture and belief, gain potential success in this context.

Moreover, *theoretical arguments* suggest that ethnocentrism is universal, involving positive bias in favour of the in-group, and hostility towards out-groups (Sumner, 1906; Freud, 1921). Sigmund Freud argued that minor differences can be used to differentiate and distance others, and people can be bound together as long as there are others who can '...receive the manifestations of their aggressiveness' (Freud, 1930, p. 61). This relates to what Freud terms the 'narcissism of small differences', the magnification of small differences in order to stay unique (Freud, 1930). In a globalising context, a process geared towards the creation of a 'global village', questions can be posed concerning who represents these remaining 'others', and light needs to be shed on the dynamics of aggressive manifestations.

This notion of a universal tendency to favour in-groups and to differentiate from out-groups is strongly supported by SIT (Tajfel, 1970; Tajfel & Turner,

1986). However, embedded in the rich body of research into group processes on the basis of SIT, some studies have focused on the conditions under which such processes of group differentiation through in-group favouritism are weakened, and thus prejudice is reduced. For example, one study shows how in-group favouritism is weakened when subjective experience is shared with salient out-group members (Pinel et al., 2008). These studies are subsumed under what is known as the *Contact Hypothesis* or *Intergroup Contact Theory* (Allport, 1954). Globalising market conditions further, the demand is for individuals to be mobile, to take advantage of the best employment opportunities and quality of life anywhere in the world. This leads to increased geographical mobility and thus more *intergroup contact*. The contact hypothesis plays a key role when looking at 'managing identities in multicultural contexts' (Brown, 2000, p.764).

While the advantage of assimilation is that loyalties to a central authority remain stronger if a unified identification with nation-states or regional unions emerges, psychological research into contact shows that contact between people from different cultural, religious ethnic, racial, and linguistic backgrounds will result in more positive relationships (Allport, 1954). A meta-analytical review by Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) suggests that contact can bring about more harmonious intergroup relations, changing majority group attitudes, irrespective of the specific conditions in which it takes places. This evidence on the 'mere exposure effect' is well-established elsewhere (Zajonc, 1968) and confirms the idea that our liking for things increases with increased exposure to them. However, evidence in history shows how intergroup contact

has resulted in the often forced decline, and even extinction, of numerous minority groups around the world, as evidenced by the significant decline of languages in the last centuries (Moghaddam, 2010).

The Contact Hypothesis is based on Allport's (1954) conditions that are required for intergroup contact to reduce prejudice. The Contact Hypothesis claims that under appropriate conditions, interpersonal contact is one of the most effective ways to reduce prejudice between majority and minority group members. However, the positive effects of intergroup contact occur only if the situation is accompanied by the existence of four key conditions: equal group status within the situation, common goals, intergroup cooperation and the support of authorities, and law or custom (see Pettigrew, 1997; 1998). Recent meta-analytic work on contact (Pettigrew et al., 2011) highlights some important points for work on multiculturalism. Firstly, greater exposure to targets can significantly enhance liking of those targets (e.g. Zajonc, 1968) and this 'mere exposure' effect generalizes to greater liking of other related but previously unknown social targets (Rhodes, Halberstadt, & Brajkovich, 2001; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011). Work on the relationship between exposure and liking indicates that uncertainty reduction is an important mechanism underlying the phenomenon.

Secondly, affective measures, such as liking, reveal significantly greater effect sizes than cognitive indicators, such as stereotypes (Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005). This indicates that while stereotypes about out-groups may persist, our liking of these groups can be enhanced in multicultural settings that offer

contact. Indeed, Pettigrew et al. (2011) contend that affective mediators play a more important role than cognitive mediators in contact's effect on reduced prejudice. Ways in which this affective relationship is represented in the public's experiences of multiculturalism is an interesting issue addressed in this thesis. Pettigrew and Tropp (2011) find such positive contact to be related to contact effects, including enhanced empathy, alleviated anxiety over interaction with out-groups, perspective taking, out-group knowledge, intergroup trust, forgiveness, job attainment and satisfaction, and perceptions of out-group variability.

Thirdly, research has shown the importance of cross-group friendship in promoting positive contact effects (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006, Pettigrew et al., 2011). Optimal conditions, including cooperation and common goals as well as repeated equal-status contact over an extended period and across varied settings are potential merits for people living in multicultural cities, thus positive contact effects based on friendships can be expected in people's representations of multiculturalism. In addition to direct cross-group friendships' positive effects, research shows that effects from one contact situation typically generalize to new contact situations (Pettigrew et al., 2011). For example, Pettigrew (1997) found that Germans who have had positive contact with Turks not only reveal more favourable attitudes towards Turks but also of West Indians, an underrepresented minority group in Germany. This finding has sparked interest in what has recently been coined 'deprovincialization' (Pettigrew et al., 2011). Deprovincialization explains how

coming to like and trust out-group members can make one less provincial about one's own group and more accepting of other out-groups.

Finally, meta-analytic findings (Pettigrew et al., 2011) reveal a strong universality of intergroup effects with mean correlations across age groups varying merely between $-.20$ and $-.24$ and no wide mean discrepancies (variation between $-.21$ in the U.S. and Europe) and $-.26$ in Australia and New Zealand). This finding may suggest that the two cities investigated in this thesis may show similar results regarding representations relating to intergroup contact. However, it is important to keep in mind that contact's effects are far greater for majorities than for minorities. Interestingly, intergroup contact between minorities was found to help unite them so that they can mount a stronger protest with an improved chance for success in mobilization against inequalities (Dixon et al., 2008). This process was found highly relevant in multi-group societies.

Combining the initial argument around the readiness for individuals and groups to maintain their heritage culture with research conducted around contact, Berry (1984) developed his theory of *Acculturation*. Furthering work on minority and majority discrepancies during the contact situation, Acculturation Theory is based on the assumption that a process entailing two cultural groups in contact with each other will result in numerous cultural changes in both groups. Berry's model is based on two main assumptions: cultural maintenance and contact-participation. The first implies the extent to which an individual values and wishes to maintain his or her cultural identity.

The second addresses the extent to which individuals value and seek out contact with those outside their own group, and wish to participate in the daily life of the larger society. Cultural maintenance and contact-participation can be embraced or rejected. Depending on these variables, four intergroup dynamics can be described. These are presented in the table below.

Table 1: Berry's model of acculturation

	CULTURAL MAINTENANCE YES	CULTURAL MAINTENANCE NO
CONTACT PARTICIPATION YES	INTEGRATION	ASSIMILATION
CONTACT PARTICIPATION NO	SEPERATION/ SEGREGATION	MARGINALIZATION

Berry's model has become widely used, due to its practical relevance regarding ways of dealing with immigrants and questions around their assimilation or integration. However, two major critiques have been addressed including a call for more consideration of the complexity of groups and more consideration of the context in which acculturation is studied. For example, Cheung-Blunden and Juang (2008) called for bi-cultural compositions on dimensions such as the prestige, status and strengths of cultural networks in each culture to be included in a model of acculturation.

In sum, research into assimilation contests the manufacturing of difference for the creation of group distinctiveness. Positive group distinctiveness is

associated with uniformity and a sense of belonging. Inter-group harmony is sought via the creation of similarity. In turn, research into multiculturalism focuses on the interaction and potential for integration of differences for the reduction of prejudice. Here, inter-group harmony is sought via the integration of difference. The strength of these theories is that the hypotheses they generate are powerful predictors of intergroup attitudes, behavioural measures and behavioural intentions in intergroup contexts. Research questions surrounding assimilation and multiculturalism highlight the modern predicament in the 'global agenda' that individuals find themselves enmeshed in. This global agenda forces people to move closer together (interaction and integration) while protecting the space of the self (group distinctiveness). The following section will outline some of the key work on identities in multicultural societies and highlight the focus of this thesis.

2.2 Multiculturalism in Social Psychology: contexts and norms – complementary work

In order to account for a more comprehensive stance in understanding multiculturalism as a *social* psychological phenomenon this section will outline some research that focuses on the contextual and normative levels of analysis (Doise, 1997). As seen above, research on contact offers a positive picture of the effects of a culturally diverse environment where cultures can mingle. It is therefore assumed that both cities (London and New York) offer fertile ground for an investigation of the positive effects of experiencing multiculturalism. Hopkins and Dixon (2006) appeal to the importance of place and space in the construction of the social identities that come into contact in multicultural

settings. They urge political psychology to investigate the important meaning of place in the construction of social identities, which will influence dynamics of intergroup contact as they can function as the normative basis for group identities and subsequent group claims. Furthermore, since indirect contact has been found to alleviate prejudice (Pettigrew et al., 2011), the importance of place in multicultural settings may be important.

Pettigrew and colleagues (2007) provide evidence for the importance of indirect contact. They investigated two types of contact (direct and indirect) in a phone survey of a probability sample (N = 2656) in Germany and found that having in-group friends who have out-group friends is negatively related to prejudice and the size of the effect of this indirect contact approaches that of direct intergroup contact. Furthermore, their findings demonstrate that direct and indirect contact are closely intertwined and together enhance the prediction of diminished prejudice.

Wright and his colleagues (1997) explained indirect friendship's effects on prejudice on the basis of a normative view: The relationship between in-group friends and out-group members could reduce intergroup anxiety and consequently favourable views of a positive out-group exemplar can be generalized to the entire out-group. The perceived cross-group friendship is likely to create a perception of positive intergroup norms that in turn leads to more positive attitudes toward the out-group. Pettigrew et al. (2007) expand this normative explanation proposing that both direct and indirect friendship patterns are most likely to occur in social settings where tolerant intergroup

norms prevail. Intergroup contact at work and in neighbourhoods reflects the opportunity to have foreign friends and optimal intergroup contact. But these contact situations also provide the social context for tolerant norms to develop. Pettigrew et al. (2007) infer that intergroup networks and their tolerant norms are to be found in larger cities with foreign concentrations in the German context—such as Berlin, Frankfurt, and Hamburg. Such cities possess the intergroup neighbourhoods and work places where intergroup friendships can form.

In highly diverse settings there is great potential for someone to know someone from another cultural, religious or ethnic group. This thesis aims to further investigate such work on direct and indirect contact by looking at the subjective experiences and the meaning-making of multiculturalism in two diverse social contexts. These are thought foster contact and reduce prejudice. In this way the construction of meaning relevant in the reduction of prejudice can be further explored.

2.2.1 Construction of Place and Representations of Similarity

Representations of place and identity further address issues surrounding similarity. While much social identity work is based on the assumption that similarity is positive for group cohesion and fosters positive group identity, alternative work argues that groups are not merely drawn towards the similar and away from the different (Gillepsie, 2007). On the basis of representational work, the idea that groups seek the similar at the cost of the different has

been refuted. For example, Gillespie (2007) questions the literature on 'othering', self-esteem and intergroup bias, and their doctrine that groups have a tendency to differentiate in-group from out-group in such a way as to bolster and protect the in-group. He looks at the collapse of the differentiation between self and other in the moment of identification. This moment has been termed 'identification through differentiation' (for an extensive overview, see Gillespie, 2007). It is interesting to combine notions of constructing particular social identities around places with ideas of the collapsing of the differentiation of self and other in multicultural settings. In short, the construction of a common space where place notions become functional for identities across groups may produce more inclusive notions of similarity and difference.

2.2.2 Representations of Similarity and the growing complexity of groups themselves

The above indicates that people's account of their experiences of living in multicultural cities may be closely related to the construction of people's sense of themselves and their relationship with place and space, and how this sense is contested and made psychologically consequential. For example, a study on the spatial controversies faced by Europe's Muslims shows how Muslims seek to reconceptualise the traditional dichotomisation of dar al-Islam and dar al-harb by seeking to develop a global Muslim identification in which issues of space and territory are irrelevant (Kahani-Hopkins & Hopkins, 2002; Hopkins & Kahani-Hopkins, 2006). Such research highlights the importance of the fluidity of social categories in people's constructions of identities. Indeed, an increasing amount of work in social psychology recognizes the need to

integrate different theories and models of identity in order to understand identity as a multifaceted phenomenon which is located in increasingly multicultural societies (e.g. Brown, 2000; Chryssochoou 2004).

Augoustinos (2001) states that social categories (such as woman/man, black/white, rich/poor) are regarded as reflecting real and valid entities in the social world. Yet, in line with the need to accept the heterogeneity of in-groups, particular categories such as 'race', 'ethnicity' and 'religion' may need to be regarded as more complex than previously assumed. Recent research addresses this issue.

Roccas and Brewer (2002) introduce the concept of social identity complexity, a construct referring to an individual's subjective representations of the interrelationships between multiple group identities. Testing this theoretical construct, Brewer and Pierce (2005) found that perceived overlap among in-group memberships (national, religious, occupational, political, and recreational social identities) is negatively related to in-group inclusiveness and tolerance for out-groups. More specifically, individuals with low social identity complexity (seeing their in-groups as highly overlapping and convergent) are less tolerant and accepting of out-groups in general than those exhibiting high complexity and low overlap (seeing their different in-groups as distinct and cross-cutting membership groups).

However, this research has not been strongly supported by evidence, and the idea of complexity relating merely to the perceived overlap of different group

memberships is questionable and needs further investigation. Moreover, Roccas and Brewer (2002) continue to formulate categories as being mutually exclusive in their ontology, and their forced-choice options for group membership uphold a framework of binary opposition (us/them, in-group/out-group). However, mutually exclusive group memberships may be necessary but not sufficient to be considered salient categories in an experiential account of multiculturalism.

This argument is supported by Brown (2000) who advocates the need for recognition of the 'enormous diversity of groups' (p.760) that form the basis of people's evaluation of their in-groups. SIT and SCT include limited structural features in their analysis, such as the status and stability of groups. Brown (2000) criticises SIT for not differentiating between kinds of groups. All groups are assumed to be equally relevant for their members.

However, Brown and Williams (1984) suggest that different groups might serve different identity functions. Some more recent research has looked at this more closely. Deaux and colleagues (1995) found a cluster of five groups identified by participants when asked to rate and classify a large number of groups. Those five groups were: ethnicity/religion, vocation/non-vocation, political affiliation, relationships and stigma. Following from the influences of such groups on identity, seven forms of identity function can arise from different group membership. These functions include self-insight, intergroup comparisons, cohesion, collective self-esteem, interpersonal comparisons, social interaction opportunities and romantic relationships (Deaux et al.,

1995). Brown (2000) observes that only two, namely intergroup comparisons and collective self-esteem, are described by SIT. Finally, Deaux et al. (1999) found that groups stressed the different functions of in-groups. While a member of a sports team emphasises intergroup comparison, a member of a religious group highlights self-insight, self-esteem and cohesion.

This thesis attempts to address the tendency to adhere to binary intergroup relations or mutually exclusive group categories in order to understand the processes involved when people belonging to different groups interact (Tajfel, 1981; Messick and Mackie, 1989; Abrams & Hogg, 1999; Ellmers, Spears & Doosje, 1999). Some qualitative work offers an alternative to this by opening research to the complexity in the active construction of identities. For example, Dixon, Levine, and McAuley (2006) report interview-based research investigating a community's reactions to people who drink alcohol in a public town square. They explore how a place's identity is constructed through reference to people's evaluations of the moral meanings of everyday behaviour. The exploration highlights the complexity to be found in people's deliberations upon the meaning of public drinking and public space. This research highlights how people are not merely the passive recipients of socially shared representations, but are actively engaged in complex constructions of groups in relation to wider ideological dilemmas (Hopkins & Dixon, 2006; Billig, Condor, Edwards, Gane, Middleton, & Radley, 1988). The aim of this thesis is to extend such research into the field of cultural diversity.

2.2.3 The nature of intergroup relations - positive symbolic content and affect in categorization

Pettigrew et al. (2011) highlighted the importance of affect over cognition in research on positive effects of intergroup contact. They argue that while cognitive entities (such as stereotypes) may persist, the affective evaluation of out-groups can change as a function of contact. However, little attention has been paid to the symbolic and affective content with which categories of out-groups are beset. Joffe and Staerklé (2007) stress the importance of the affective and symbolic underpinnings of categories such as 'gypsy', 'obese people' and 'gay men', amongst many more.

Joffe and Staerklé (2007) add a fundamental dimension to research into out-group attitudes, namely that of negative affect in the symbolic realm of derogated otherness. This thesis aims to further such important work by investing affect in the symbolic underpinnings of experiences of multiculturalism.

Joffe and Staerklé's (2007) work has been concerned with the meaning of symbolic content present in the 'othering' of unwanted qualities onto out-groups (Joffe, 2001; Joffe, 2007; Joffe & Staerklé, 2007). Such othering processes serve identity protective functions.

The link between symbolic content and more positive affect has thus far remained under-researched. This is in line with Jost et al.'s (2004) critique that

social and political theories mainly pertain to negative notions, and lack any positive dimension in intergroup dynamics (Fowers & Davidov, 2006).

This thesis attempts to address both the risks and the merits of multiculturalism in the subjective experiences of people. A cosmopolitan perspective on intergroup relations is used to substantiate the theoretical claim for inclusive tendencies in intergroup relations as it refers to a milieu of blurring differentiations and cultural contradictions (Beck, 2006).

2.3 Cosmopolitanism and Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism as a context in which people and populations around the globe are interrelated, can only be understood from a cosmopolitan perspective (Beck, 2006). Sameness and difference are not only historically and psychologically, but also socially, perpetuated in urban spaces. The stranger next door is now not only a potential threat, but also a possible promise. This promise is premised on the prospect of liberation from compulsory group membership. This prospect of liberation lies at the core of contemporary life and ideology.

Studies on multiculturalism need to develop a more comprehensive framework of the complex context within which individuals and groups move closer together and protect their space. This thesis addresses multiculturalism within the cosmopolitan city. Cosmopolitanism has become the defining feature of an era referred to as 'reflexive modernity', in which national borders

and differences are dissolving and must be renegotiated. Beck (2006) defines it as a '...sense of lack of boundary, an everyday, historically alert, reflexive awareness of ambivalences in a milieu of blurring differentiations and cultural contradictions' (p.3). In contrast to the 'second modernity', 'reflexive modernity' has shifted its focus away from an exclusive differentiation (as in national boundaries) to an inclusive differentiation (the cosmopolitan space). It reveals not just the 'anguish' but also the possibility of shaping one's life and social relations under conditions of a cultural mix while, at the same time, being sceptical toward such conditions.

How then does the cosmopolitan outlook relate to questions around identity relevant for a social psychological investigation? Cosmopolitanism determines identity not via either/or logic, but through the both/and logic of inclusive differentiation. This means that people construct a model of their identity by '...dipping freely into the Lego set of globally available identities and building a progressively inclusive self-image' (Beck, 2006, p.5). This results in an individualised patchwork identity. The individual identifications within this patchwork identity do not necessarily fit, yet they do evoke a sense of unity. A person might consider himself a Dutch 'world citizen' and 'European', yet support anti-immigration laws and exhibit xenophobic prejudices against people from Eastern European countries.

However, social science research has shown that there has been a recent reassertion of national, ethnic, and local identities in different parts of the world (Moghaddam, 2010; Beck, 2006). According to Beck (2006), the novelty

of this reassertion is that it does not aim at national or ideological conquests beyond country borders. The difference is what Beck (2006) refers to as 'introverted nationalism' (p.6) that opposes the invasion of the global world by turning inwards. Such introverted nationalism can foster aggressive intolerance, which is capable of turning against anybody or anything. At its root lies a resistance to the cosmopolitanisation of life-worlds, and to globalization, both of which are perceived as threatening the local forms of life. Introverted nationalism can lead to an essentializing of national categories, such as the dominant national ethnicity or religion. This essentialization is an attempt to oppose the blurred and shifting boundaries between internal and external – 'us' and 'them'. Essentialization of 'us and them' creates impenetrable boundaries between social groups. Beck (2006) calls this an 'either/or' myth. This myth defines and demarcates us against what is foreign. Beck (2006) names this the 'territorial either/or theory of identity' (p. 5). It assumes that a space defended by mental fences is an indispensable precondition for the formation of self-consciousness and for social integration. He disagrees with this friend-foe schema and argues for cosmopolitan empathy, and against the 'prison error' of identity.

It is not necessary to isolate and organize human beings into antagonistic groups, not even within the broad expanse of the nation, for them to become self-aware and capable of political action. Individuals and groups who surf transnational television channels and programmes, simultaneously inhabit different worlds. They inhabit national networks, horizons of expectations, ambitions and contradictions. The social sciences more generally would argue

that individuals and groups within such ambiguous life-worlds appear '...uprooted, disintegrated, homeless and living between mono-national points of view' (Beck-Gernsheim, 2004). To move away from such isolation and toward integration is important for social psychological work into multiculturalism.

A final point to consider are the characteristics of 'cosmopolitan' experiences as opposed to national experiences. Beck (2006) suggests that cosmopolitan sensibility and competence arise from the clash of cultures within one's own life. The cosmopolitan in the realm of experience and expectations means the internalization of difference, the co-presence and co-existence of rival lifestyles, contradictory certainties in the experiential space of individuals and societies. By this is meant a world in which it has become necessary to understand, reflect and criticise difference. In this way one can assert and recognize oneself and others as being different. This is what Beck (2006) refers to as 'dialogical imagination'. Cosmopolitan competence involves the situating and relativity of one's own form of life within other horizons of possibility, and the capacity to see oneself from the perspective of cultural others. Furthermore, such competence relates to giving practical effect to one's own experience through the exercise of boundary-transcending imagination.

Ways and forms of achieving cosmopolitan competence have not been empirically tested to date. Furthermore, research should look at ways in which old forms of belonging can be contested and resisted. This thesis aims to

provide initial empirical insights into those questions. Investigating the public understanding of multiculturalism offers fertile ground for considering the cosmopolitan outlook, which is predominantly experienced by contradictions of difference and sameness in everyday life. The experiences of everyday life in turn relates to people's everyday knowledge. The following chapter will outline the meaning of everyday knowledge for the constructions of social representations on multiculturalism.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

In sum, this chapter outlines some research in social psychology on multiculturalism and intergroup relations. Research conceptualises ideas around multiculturalism and assimilation as being in conflict. Research into assimilation contests the manufacturing of difference for the creation of group distinctiveness. Positive group distinctiveness is associated with uniformity and a sense of belonging. In turn, research into multiculturalism focuses on the interaction and potential for integration of differences for the reduction of prejudice. Here, inter-group harmony is sought via integration of difference. Such research highlights prevalent issues in relation to psychological processes within group dynamics. Further research has been laid out, highlighting alternative notions, such as place identity, social contact context, group complexity, and affect as key notions in social psychological work. The chapter highlights the importance of these issues for the investigation of lived experiences of multiculturalism and their representational content. In addition, the sociology of cosmopolitanism was sketched to forge a framework for such an investigation.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK I:

SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS THEORY, IDENTITY and MULTICULTURAL SOCIETIES

The cosmopolitan world is characterised by societies each having a repertoire of shared norms and interpretive frameworks. This repertoire enables individuals to form personal identities, facilitates mundane social interactions, and enables practical engagements with the material world. It is through acculturation and socialisation in the everyday sphere that human beings acquire skills and competences, which allow them to participate in social life. Skills and competences acquired in the everyday realm means that individuals operate on the basis of everyday knowledge (Gardiner, 2006).

Everyday knowledge is generally characterised by a set of key features (Gardiner, 2006). Firstly, everyday knowledge is typically ruled by emotion and affect rather than formal logic; secondly, it tends to be repetitive and prone to analogical forms of reasoning and generalisation; and thirdly, it is pragmatic, based upon immediate perceptions and experiences and associated with mundane tasks. This resonates with the ideas of the phenomenologist Alfred Schütz (1932) who said "...the knowledge of the man who acts and thinks within the world of his daily life is not homogeneous; it is

(1) incoherent, (2) only partially clear, and (3) not at all free from contradictions” (Schütz, 1964, p.93).

Gardiner (2006) concludes that everyday knowledge is a form of doxa, legitimised by commonsensical opinions and not reliant on ‘certainty’ in any scientific sense. One theory that does not dismiss everyday knowledge on the basis of its unscientific nature, and thus is well positioned to deal with the common sense structure of everyday knowledge, is the Theory of Social Representations (SRT). Furthermore, the SRT is able to cross the dividing line between the individual outlook of deterministic psychology and the structural outlook of the sociological realm. It is therefore a useful theory with which to bring together the cosmopolitan outlook and the work of psychologists. The following section will introduce and outline some core assumptions of the theory, and some major developments of the theory with reference to dialogicality. In addition, its ambivalent relation to Social Identity Theory will be outlined.

3.1 Social Representations Theory

Social representations are collective phenomena pertaining to a community, which are co-constructed by individuals in their daily talk and actions (Wagner et al., 1999). SRT originated with the French social psychologist Serge Moscovici and his pioneering work on psychoanalysis with regard to the mass media and the French public (1961/1976, 1981). His work first appeared in 1961 (strongly revised in 1976) under the title ‘La psychoanalyse: Son image

et son public' in France. It was translated into English in 2008, over 30 years after its initial publication. In this work Moscovici conducts a content analysis of the French press, tracing the outlines of different types of groups structured through distinctive forms of social-psychological organisation (Duveen, 2008).

The 'representation' construct is part of a long-standing academic trajectory across several disciplines. Moscovici adapted Durkheim's concept of collective representations, which he contrasted to individual representations of knowledge. Collective representations are static and generalised classifications of ideas and beliefs. They pertain to the intellectual elements of science, religion, myths and other features that tap into the collective consciousness. In contrast, the construct of social representations in SRT is given a more dynamic sense, referring as much to the process through which representations are elaborated as to the structures of knowledge which are established (Moscovici, 2000). Jovchelovich (1996) argues that it is through the articulation of the relationship between content structures and processes in the genesis of representations, that the theory offers a perspective in social psychology different from that of social cognition, which is mainly concerned with processes.

Two mechanisms underlie the possibility of achieving familiarity and communication, namely anchoring and symbolization. Both anchoring and objectification (or symbolization) link new or controversial phenomena to historical references and contemporary cultural symbols. The first mechanism, anchoring, ascribes meaning to new phenomena by integrating the object of representations into a sphere of earlier social representations or known

worldviews. In this way individuals and groups can make sense of new phenomena. Thus, new phenomena are stripped of a potentially threatening strangeness, and made comprehensible. Depending on the anchors that are chosen, the representations of new or controversial phenomena can be regarded as serious or benign and can be blended with a set of corresponding emotional underpinnings (Joffe, 1999; Joffe, Washer & Solberg, in press). Consequently, through the anchoring mechanisms, phenomena become emotionally 'coloured'. The second mechanism, objectification or symbolization, makes the unknown known, by transforming it into something concrete via images, symbols and metaphors drawn from the individual's experiential world (Moscovici, 1984). In addition, such concretization can be based on symbolization as it relates to particular individuals or groups (Joffe, Washer & Solberg, in press). By transforming abstract phenomena into more concrete entities, they become easier to grasp. The relevance of new phenomena for self or group identity depends on the symbols chosen to represent the phenomena (Joffe, Washer & Solberg, in press). In this way, a derogated out-group or valorised national symbol can foster in-group identity via mechanisms of anchoring and symbolization. The following sections will outline the two main functions of social representations, namely familiarity and communication.

3.1.1 Social Representations and Familiarity

According to Moscovici, the relationship between process and structure is to be found in the first function of representations, namely '...the purpose of all

representations [is] to make something unfamiliar, or unfamiliarity itself, familiar' (Moscovici, 2000, p.37). He argues that a consensual universe is a place where everybody wants to feel at home, secure from any risks or friction. Acquired beliefs and interpretations are confirmed, and tradition corroborated rather than contradicted. Situations, gestures, and ideas are expected to recur and change, only in so far as they provide an aliveness and avoids the '...stifling of dialogue under the weight of repetition' (Moscovici, 2000, p.37). Consequently, the dynamic of relationships is a dynamic of familiarization, where objects, individuals and events are perceived and understood in relation to previous encounters or paradigms. Moscovici differentiates between two ways of dealing with familiarity. He says: 'To accept and understand what is familiar, to grow accustomed to it and make a habit of it, is one thing; but it is quite another to prefer it as the standard of reference and to measure all that happens, and is perceived, against it' (Moscovici, 2000, p. 37). In the latter case the familiar becomes the typical, and the typical become the criterion for evaluation of what is normal and abnormal, usual and unusual.

Many studies have investigated the transition from the unfamiliar to the familiar, for example, through the novel risks of biotechnology (Gaskell & Bauer, 2001), manifestations of madness (Jodelet, 1991), representations of Emerging Infectious Diseases (EID) (Joffe & Bettega, 2003; Joffe & Haarhoff, 2002; Joffe, Washer & Solberg, in press), and representations of racism (Howarth & Hook, 2005). In the context of multiculturalism, where different cultures, religions, ethnicities and other social groups come together in the

same environment, familiarity becomes an important issue. Individuals and groups find themselves surrounded by rituals, customs and traditions that are alien to them. SRT with its key concern with familiarity offers a useful complementary theoretical approach to social cognition work, in that it searches out the meaning of intergroup relations in a context of prevailing cultural unfamiliarity.

3.1.2 Communication and the functionality of social groups

The second function of social representations, in addition to making the unfamiliar familiar, is related to the facilitation of communication processes amongst individuals or groups in society by giving them a common code (a common 'language'). This function relates to the social distribution of knowledge, which differentiates social groups from each other and can lead to the emergence of different social identities. SRT is concerned with the diversity of individuals and phenomena, and aims to discover how individuals can construct a stable, predictable world out of such diversity through notions of common sense knowledge (Moscovici, 2000).

The diversity of groups, individuals and phenomena underscore an important distinction between differing definitions of what constitutes a social group. A social group relates to different paradigms in SRT and SIT. Theories of social cognition, including SIT, define the social group as in '...all groups sharing basic forms of social psychological structures', meaning that social groups function in the same way, but on the basis of different values and ideas

(Duveen, 2008). Moscovici (2000) contrasts his theory to that of social cognition, arguing that social groups generate and sustain different communicative genres, and that these reveal different forms of affiliation amongst them. A social group is defined via such affiliation through communication processes. Distinct social representations generate, and are sustained by, different communicative genres, which reveal different forms of affiliation amongst social groups (Duveen, 2008). In his groundbreaking work on the spread of psychoanalysis through the mass media in the French public, Moscovici (1961/1976, 2008) identified three communicative genres, resulting in three different social groups. These three communicative genres are diffusion, propagation and propaganda. Diffusion is described as voluntarily drawing together independently-minded individuals. Social groups that bind together through diffusion are affiliated to each other through a form of sympathy. Similarly, propagation is characterised as an association founded on belief, setting a limit to the intellectual curiosity of individuals. Social groups that bind together through propagation, affiliate through communion. Thirdly, social groups bound together via propaganda are dependent on, and share, a centre defining the group's realities. These groups are bound together by solidarity.

Moscovici emphasizes the importance of the 'social' in social psychology, and calls for a synthesis of individual and social aspects of human cognition. The heart of the theory talks about the existence of 'social knowledge'. Social knowledge implies the existence of knowledge beyond the individual level. Knowledge, ideas and modes of behaviour are shared (communicated)

between individuals, according to their social group affiliations. 'Shared' here means that such knowledge and ideas entail a dynamic through which they are in constant debate, and are continuously redeveloped, renegotiated, changed and adapted (Hartmuth, 2001). SRT is constituted as a theory of social knowledge through its use and understanding of common-sense knowledge (Markova, 2003a).

Furthermore, its central elements, shared knowledge and common-sense, "...move the theory beyond the focus on individual information processing set by the classic cognitive social psychology" as it is concerned with the constructive intersection of subjective experience and the exchange of such experience with others (Deaux & Philogene, 2001, p.4). This implies that any interaction between individuals and groups presupposes shared representations which enable people to name and classify a common reality. These shared representations are formulated within a cultural and social milieu that always precedes the individual that lives in it. By way of these collectively shared and evaluated social representations, people make sense of the world and communicate that sense to each other. Communication forms the connective tissue of the customs, rituals and stories people tell each other, which give them the feeling of belonging. By building a frame of reference, interpretations of reality are facilitated and guides established that relate people to the world around them (Deaux & Philogene, 2001). Multicultural societies are characterised by a plurality of such frames of reference. The plurality of reference frames implies the existence of different social group affiliations. Therefore, the relationship between the self (in-group affiliation)

and other (group affiliations) becomes a key issue for the study of multiculturalism and related identity work, and needs to be further addressed.

3.1.3 The Self and the Other in Social Representation Theory

In the preface of the second edition of *La Psychoanalyse* (1967), Moscovici points out that a fundamental characteristic of social representations is their directedness at others (Markova, 2007). This directedness means that one is pointing out something to someone with whom one communicates. Hence social representations are formed in and via dialogue (Markova, 2007). Markova (2000, 2003a, 2003b) develops this emphasis on shared, exchanged, negotiated and communicated knowledge in the theoretical formulation of a dialogical approach to social representations.

The starting point for Markova (2007) is the importance of the ontological and epistemological question regarding the relation between self and other, *Ego* and *Alter*. She argues that if humans have the innate capacity of sociality and openness toward others, the *Ego-Alter* relation is basic to humanity. Two points can be made with regard to the self's desire to identify with the other. Firstly, the desire to merge or fuse with, and separate from, certain others has been implicit in human history. Markova refers to the mystic search for one's unity with nature, the cosmos, and gods, as well as the symbolic merging of the self and others in all of mankind's history through music, dance and rhythm. A second point pertains to the question of intersubjectivity (see Markova, 2003a), and interobjectivity (Moghaddam, 2003).

While intersubjectivity deals with shared cognition and consensus as essence in the shaping of our ideas and relationships, interobjectivity focuses on the exploration of contacts within and between groups, rather than individuals. Markova refers to Bakhtin's dialogical theory for an alternative to intersubjectivity. The relationship between self and other is characterised by co-authorship (Bakhtin, 1986/1993). The multifaceted world of others becomes part of our own consciousness because, from early childhood, we learn the words of others and evaluate, struggle with and judge the messages of the other.

Bakhtin (1986/1993) makes a distinction between pure and active empathizing with the other. Firstly, pure empathizing leads to a submerging of the self in the other. This submerging is defined as viewing the world from the other's perspective, and results in a loss of individuality as well as the obliteration of the other. Secondly, active empathizing involves a productive struggle with the strange *Alter*. Markova (2003a) says "...for Bakhtin, there is no communication unless the self lives through active understanding of the strange, of *Alter*. The speech of others and their thoughts contain strangeness, which the self tries to overpower by imposing its own meaning on the other [...] the constant strife between strangeness of others' thoughts makes communication meaningful and essential to the human condition" (p.257). Dialogue would not be possible if individuals were not opposed one to another through mutually experienced strangeness. This strangeness creates tension between them.

Dialogical tension is not bound to either of the two individuals in dialogue, but exists between them. While tension is often understood as a term signifying strain or pressure, it can relate to the activities of different sources such as the work of magnetic fields where there exists a tension between attraction and repulsion emanating from one single source (Markova, 2003b). Furthermore, terms like 'extension', 'pretension', 'attention', 'intention' and more, all adhere to tension as a notion expressing action or change. In psychoanalytic theory, tension has been theorized as the negative force that can be used to resolve the individual's problems. Through the reduction of tension, the person's sense of balance is re-established. Markova (2003b) asserts that in philosophy, in Hegel's master/slave parable, the implicit notion is present that the source of action is tension and conflict arising from contradiction. Consequently, social action is determined by the negotiation, evaluation and judgment of oppositions in tension. Dialogical tension leads to a qualitative shift, and the newness that emerges from joint conversations becomes the space where there is a meeting between 'new horizons of meanings' (Simão, 2005). New meanings created through the act of understanding do not stem either from the self or from a suppression or abandonment of the other's preconceptions. Rather, the developmental shifts result from the 'selective reconstruction' of the dialogical encounter (Simão, 2005).

Following from the above, humans are born into a symbolic and cultural world, with specific phenomena such as modes of social thinking, collective ceremonies, social practices and language. These modes of everyday life become transmitted through generations, and enter the common-sense realm.

In other words, they become symbolic and unconscious yardsticks guiding social realities. People develop a constructed knowledge of what is edible and what is not, the use of moral categories (good/bad), motives, goals, and meanings of words (Markova, 2003b). Consequently, being born into a society means being born into a common-sense structure that guides life and defines what is beautiful and ugly, moral and immoral. Without dialogical tension, these oppositions would remain consensual and taken for granted. In this case, ways in which others are perceived would not be questioned. Hence, the other would be 'robbed' of any alternative explanation of their actions and motives. Therefore, common-sense knowledge is taken for granted knowledge or, as Moscovici said, 'common-sense is social sense' (Moscovici, 2000). Common-sense requires dialogical tension with 'others' in order to become contested.

Importantly, for common-sense knowledge to turn into social representations, communicative tension needs to arise. SRT builds a theory around those social phenomena that have become the subject of public concern (Markova, 2003b), such as multiculturalism. As Staerklé (2006) points out, the fact that people like or dislike, support or oppose, multiculturalism, presupposes structural and cultural knowledge of it, with regard to which people can position themselves. This in turn suggests that multiculturalism is a 'hot' topic with regard to which contradicting opinions exist. It is within a field of dialogical tension that ideas relating to multiculturalism are contested, and social representations arise.

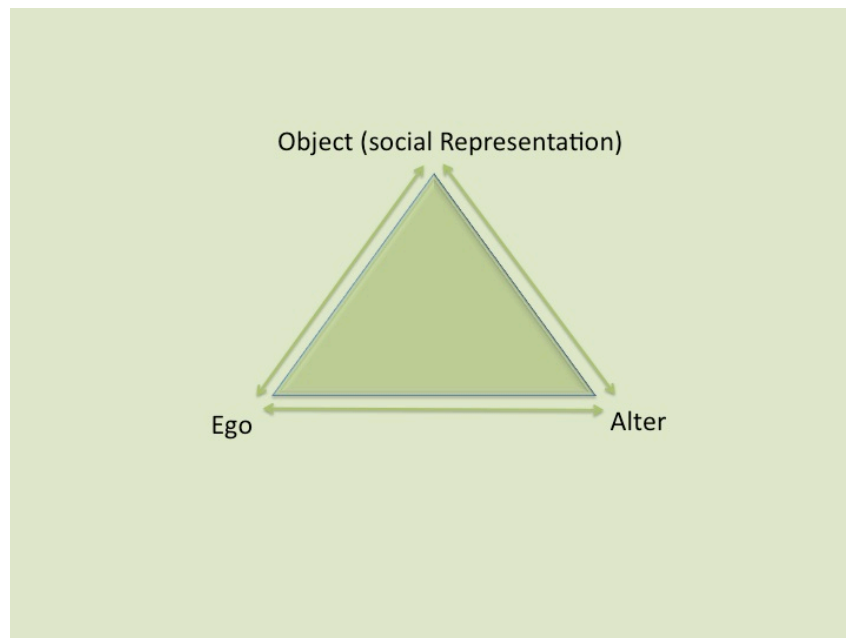
In addition, as mentioned above, for Moscovici, the structured contents and the genesis of social representations are interdependent. This interdependence is linked with themata: the structured contents of social representations rest on an “initial string of a few themata”. These themata appear to have a “...generative as well as a normative power in the formation of a representation” (Moscovici, 2001, pp. 30–31).

3.1.4 Public Dialogue, Dialogicality and Themata

Marková (2000) elaborates the dialogical interdependence between the socio-cultural embeddedness of themata and the constructive role of the themata in forming social representations: “The concept of themata, more than any other, not only shows the socio-cultural embeddedness of social thinking, but also provides a basic starting point for generating social representations” (p. 442).

An important aspect of Markova’s (2003a) dialogical approach to social representations lies in the idea that human rationality is based on antinomies. Markova (2003a) puts forward the hypothesis that thinking and speaking in antinomies is an expression of dialogicality of the human mind, being a capacity of the *Ego* to conceive and comprehend the world in terms of the *Alter*, and to create social realities in terms of the *Alter*. In accordance with Bakhtin’s notion of tension as the source of dialogical change, tension is inherent in the *Ego-Alter* relationship, and thus in social representations and communication (Markova, 2003b). The dialogical triad (see Figure 1) is the dynamic unit of the theory of social knowledge (Markova, 2003b).

Figure 1: The Ego-Alter-Object Triad by Moscovici



The *Ego-Alter-Object* is a triad within which all components are inter-related. Markova (2003b) equates the *Ego-Alter* relationship to a figure-ground relationship. In Moscovici's work on minority and majority, this means that a group could constitute the majority only in terms of the specific minority (Moscovici, 1979). A specific minority and majority come into existence like figure-ground, not because of a characteristic that is *a priori* important, but because that specific characteristic becomes significant for their emergence as the minority/majority (Markova, 2003b). This characteristic thus defines their internal relationship. Moreover, this characteristic – be it based on categories such as ethnicity, race, or religion - creates a dialogical tension within the *Alter-Ego*. This tension implies that the relationship between *Alter* and *Ego* becomes an *Object* on the basis of being a subject matter in their communicative relation (Markova, 2003b, p.169). In the case of this thesis,

multiculturalism (*object*) is created and defined via the communicative relationship of various social groups to each other in a given context.

Social representations of a given object - in this case multiculturalism - can be formed through themata. Themata are culturally very long-standing oppositions (Moscovici & Vingeaux, 2000) and are relational in nature (Markova, 2007). Themata (or singular “thema”) are historically embedded presuppositions, culturally shared antinomies and the deepest structure of social thought (Liu, 2004). More manifest themes that are constructed in people’s accounts on an issue in question, are underpinned by themata. Prevalent themes are the pragmatic manifestations, or partial reconstructions, of the themata in different forms, and in different spheres of everyday life (Liu, 2004). Through the empirical identification of pragmatic manifestations that underpin themata, a social representation “...is not an unorganized mass, but a polymorphous construction” (Liu, 2004, p. 255). Pragmatic manifestations are concerned with the contents and meanings of themata in given cultural and historical circumstances. Liu (2004) prefers the term ‘pragmatic manifestation’ over the linguistically flavoured term ‘semantic domains’ to characterise the relationship between social representations and themata, which will also be adopted here.

In addition, themata could be personally or collectively relevant (e.g. good/bad, male/female), of epistemic importance (e.g. old/new). Themata are interdependent and interacting constituents within which one defines the other. They can be unconsciously transmitted through generations via

common-sense knowledge, or through a spark of public interest becoming thematised in public communication. In the latter case, specific conditions create certain conflictual content that underpins the themata, and which, in turn, create new and complex socially shared knowledge or social representations (Markova, 2007).

The differentiation between themata and social categories defined by SCT is important. Themata are accompanied by social and ideological tensions and conflicts. Through the thematization of these conflicts in communicative processes, changes in meaning can be achieved. In the communication process, symbolic rituals and images, power relations and interactions are shared. Consequently, behind the communication of a particular themata lie theories about its constituents. For example, behind a social representation of a black person may lurk the themata of white/black and the position of different races in society. Themata are manifest in the public's common-sense thinking, as endless talk in the private and public sphere pertains to the dialogic relationship of its constituents. In contrast, social categories are independent and fixed, consisting of mental processes that exert a determining influence on thought and behaviour. However, the content of social representations cannot be decomposed into fixed and independent variables, because meaning is always relational (Markova, 2007).

Having outlined some of the epistemological foundations of SRT and developments of the theory in terms of dialogicality and themata, the following section will look at the multicultural city as a place offering fertile ground for a

study of the unfamiliar, and the emergence of social identities in the triadic space between *Ego*, *Alter* and Object (multiculturalism).

3.2 Social Representations, Identity and Multicultural Societies

In order to understand the function of identity and the functionality of representations in a multicultural context, the following section will present different strands of research considering the impact of multiculturalism on identity construction. Notably, Chryssochoou (2000) has looked at the effect of multiculturalism on identity construction and identity content (its meaning). Her point of entry is that people understand themselves as belonging to certain social categories to which they give some meaning. People hold lay theories about the social world, and it is through these lay theories that people attribute meaning to social categories. In line with ideas outlined in the previous section, the importance of relational meaning in understanding the construction of categories is not dealt with in this research. Chryssochoou's (2000) work focuses on the translation of social aspects in individual information-processes. Social psychological research has yet to find satisfactory ways of investigating multicultural societies and the individuals within them, without falling prey to the restrictions imposed by categorisation theories. Furthermore, it needs to consider group memberships beyond the classical use of gender, race, and religion, thus allowing for an understanding of cosmopolitan versions of identity and group memberships. Boundaries of categorizations become contested in multicultural societies where the meaning of 'Us' and 'Them' becomes blurred. A black Parisian Muslim born to

Christian Nigerian parents in Ukraine, who spend over half of his life in London ‘...may be both in-group and out-group simultaneously’ (Liebkind, 1989, 2001).

Howarth (2002) argues that if social psychology is to engage with the changing nature of identities in today’s world, the role of representations in the construction of identities must be addressed. She quotes Tajfel (1969) who argues against the importance of content in psychology: “The content of categories to which people are assigned by virtue of their social identity is generated over a long period of time within a culture; the origin and development of these ideas are a problem for the social historian rather than for the psychologist” (p.86). Furthermore, Howarth (2002) argues that eliminating connotations of culture from identity construction processes, eliminates the social from the psychological. This is a key problem in social psychology. Her critique of SIT and SCT involves their reductive isolation from the shared meanings and symbolic values that groups embody. The emphasis of these theories is on the processes involved when individuals make alliances with particular social groups. SCT goes even further by emphasizing how groups categorise themselves without paying particular attention to how others see the group. However, categorization can be imposed on groups (Howarth, 2002). This finding plays a crucial role in the relative dynamic between groups, in particular in multicultural settings. Minorities frequently become the object of representations (Howarth, 2002).

It is important to include in the study of multiculturalism, the interrelatedness of social context and processes that give identity their meaning (Chryssochoou, 2004). Furthermore, the reflexivity of internalising the judgement by others with regard to the group identity (Howarth, 2002) needs to be considered. In addition, research needs to address the symbolic content present in different groups. Psychoanalytic theories can shed light on the workings of symbolic content by explaining arrays of projective and introjective mechanisms. Such mechanisms address 'othering' processes through which groups can position themselves and become positioned in multicultural contexts.

In sum, the 'other' plays a fundamental role in the constitution of the 'self', which is underscored by mechanisms of dialogical tension in the interplay of inclusive and exclusive forces at work in identity construction. Investigating the identity work accompanied by the work on emotions, can open new insights into the subjective experience of multiculturalism. Co-existence is not a fact, but a complex and diverse space occupied by the movements of images, desires, fantasies and fascinations.

Chapter Summary

This chapter provides a broad overview of SRT with its two key functions, namely making familiar what is not, and enabling shared knowledge through communication. Processes around the construction of familiarity are of particular importance in multicultural contexts that are marked by unfamiliarity due to the existence of different social groups. Furthermore, shared knowledge and communicative processes are governed by an *Ego-Alter* relationship. This relationship identifies the importance of the 'other' in the construction of social representations. By way of its inherent strangeness, the relationship between self and other is further underpinned by dialogical tension. Through the negotiation of the strangeness inherent in the *Ego-Alter* relationship, new meaning can be negotiated. It is within a field of dialogical tension that ideas with regard to multiculturalism are contested. These ideas can rest upon themata. The content and meaning of themata upon which lay ideas around multiculturalism are based, remain to be investigated. Research needs to address the relationship between the meaning of multiculturalism and its related identity work, without circumventing the existence of ambiguity and contradiction. The next chapter will introduce psychoanalytic work on identity, which is well suited to inform the complex interdependence between self and other. Furthermore, the psychoanalytic conceptualization of identity helps to illuminate the need for delving into symbolic content in research into social representations.

CHAPTER 4

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK II:

PSYCHOANALYSIS and IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION IN

MULTICULTURAL CONTEXTS

“We don’t see things as they are, we see them as we are”
(Anais Nin, 1903-1977)

Through the encounter with cultural ‘others’ both social identity and social representations influence and are influenced by one another. While the previous chapter looked at the role played by social representations in identity work, this chapter aims to conceptualize identity from a psychodynamic stance to substantiate a social representations perspective on identity. Firstly, this chapter outlines ways in which identity is conceptualised in psychoanalytic thought. Then, a post-colonial critique is offered in order to highlight the importance of the socio-political in the realm of the psychological. Subsequently, this chapter will outline previous psychodynamic work on identity within the field of SRT. Finally, the research aims of this thesis are outlined in the light of the interplay between social representations and identity dynamics in multicultural contexts.

4.1 Identity Work in Psychoanalysis

The beginnings of psychoanalysis are associated with Sigmund Freud (1856-1939), a neuroscientist who progressively created what is understood as psychoanalysis – an analysis of the human subject and a means of curing some of the mental ills, which trouble human subjects. Psychoanalysis occupies an uneasy place in the social sciences (Lawler, 2008). Yet, it offers an interpretative framework within which the place of fantasy, desire and repression in the formation of the self and the un-conscious, non-rational and emotional elements of identity can be considered. Most other sciences have taken these issues for granted or left them unexamined (Lawler, 2008). However, while Frosh (2007; Frosh & Emerson, 2005; Frosh & Saville Young, forthcoming) appeals to qualitative research to investigate the ‘subjectivity’ of the subject, which is usually left out of conventional psychology, he cautions about ‘psychoanalysing’ or using ‘expert’ interpretative strategies in terms of the research material. While psychoanalytic ideas about emotional investment and fantasy can offer a ‘thickening’ or enrichment of interpretive understanding as brought to bear on personal experiences of social phenomena, interpretation has to be handled with care (Frosh & Emerson, 2005).

Nonetheless, psychoanalytic theory is well suited to supplying a framework through which subject positions in social life can be explored, due to its concern with both the inner life and the outer world (Frosh, 1989). Conversely, psychoanalysis can be informed by the integration of social psychological

ideas. Rather than viewing the individual in isolation, psychoanalysis needs to perceive that individual as being socially produced in terms of overt interpersonal and intergroup activity (Frosh & Saville Young, forthcoming).

In order to gain insight into the workings of identity, ‘...unconscious and non-coherent aspects of identity need to be considered’ (Frosh, 1997, p.72). Psychoanalysis is ‘...suspicious of what is manifest’ (Lawler, 2008, p. 84). Identity, supposedly stable and unitary, ‘masks’ the division of the person into the ego (the conscious sense of ‘I’), the superego (the social conscience) and the id (the wild, asocial part of the self) (Perelberg, 2007). In this sense the ego is necessarily divided against itself as the ego is in constant negotiation with the superego and the id – desire and demand.

Frosh develops a psychosocial account of subjectivity that draws on psychoanalysis and on an understanding of the social as something that permeates apparently ‘individual’ phenomena (Frosh, 2003; Frosh and Baraitser, 2008; Saville Young & Frosh, 2010). The critique of the idea that ‘inner’ and ‘outer’ worlds are empirically or theoretically separable lies at the heart of ‘Psychosocial Studies’. Psychosocial studies are concerned with the connection between psychological and social concerns. Underpinning these concerns are the ways in which psychoanalytic theory, social theory and qualitative methodologies can be brought together. The social representations approach taken up in this thesis, fits neatly within this approach. Representations of multiculturalism are understood to be socially constructed, and the ways in which multiculturalism is lived in subjective experience is

underpinned by the communicative content of such representations. Furthermore, the emergence and accessibility of representational content is understood as being arbitrated by social and cultural contexts, as well as by the desires, fantasies and wishes of individuals (Saville Young & Frosh, 2010).

While SRT is useful in the investigation of the content and process of representational material, the incorporation of psychoanalytic theory is deemed valuable for the inclusion of emotive dimensions in identity work. Such emotions include desires, fantasies and wishes. The following section will outline the British school of objects-relations, which has previously been used to integrate emotive work into social psychological studies on identity (i.e. Joffe, 2001; Joffe & Staerklé, 2007).

4.1.1 The British School of Objects-Relations

Melanie Klein's (1946; 1952) psychodynamic theory of the affective roots of human subjectivity emanated from Freud's writing about the duality between the life and death instinct in *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (1920/1961). The life instinct is motivated by the maintenance of pleasure – the ego learns that there are 'objects' existing on the outside, which can be the source of both pleasure and un-pleasure. Object relations theory, associated with the work of psychoanalysts such as Melanie Klein and Donald Winnicott, examines the psychodynamics of the young child's individuation from the 'object' of the mother figure. It is argued that in infancy there is no distinct boundary

between self and other, subject and object. Through gradual acculturation into the social world, the self becomes defined, and demarcates the boundaries of selfhood and embodiment, against that which is 'other'. In the process of constructing and maintaining boundaries of selfhood, other individuals and objects are invested with emotion, both positive and negative.

The infant enters an unknown world and his needs, emotions and anxieties are powerful and all consuming. In early infancy the non-fulfilment of basic needs by the caregiver leads the infant to experience frustration and persecution, eliciting feelings of aggression and hate. The fulfilment of needs, on the other hand, leads to experiences of satisfaction and feelings of love. In line with Freud's ideas, the infant actively seeks to maximize pleasure and minimize pain. This is part of the early structuring of the psyche (Joffe, 2007). The infant is principally object-seeking and object-relating. Klein talks about 'objects' as people with whom the infant engages in a relationship. It is through relating that the infant begins to build up an internal world of object representations. Central to Kleinian theory is the extent to which thoughts, feelings and experiences underpin beliefs about objects and the relationships between objects.

In Klein's developmental framework, two positions are described as emerging in the first year of life. However, these positions also describe two contrasting psychic modes of functioning, which are the bases of the psyche's enduring orientation throughout life (Gould, 1997; Rock, 2010). The first position is the paranoid-schizoid position. Initially, the infant is unable to capture the whole

person but relates to only one aspect of it, either a good one or a bad one. Because the infant is able to love and hate, it has to keep these states totally separate (split) to protect the “good” from the “bad”. Klein adopted the term ‘schizoid’ because of the reliance on splitting to keep the loving and hateful aspects separate in the self (ego) and the object. So, in the presence of the loving mother, there is no sign of the persecuting mother, and vice versa. Klein used the term ‘paranoid’ because, at times, the infant’s anxieties are of a persecutory nature that engenders a fear of annihilation.

In order to keep the good and the bad separate, the infant employs different mechanisms. The first process present in splitting is projection. Unwanted feelings are projected in order to get rid of intolerable unpleasant or unwanted feelings. In phantasy¹, angry feelings are projected into an object. In this way negative feelings are kept at bay and distanced from the ‘good’ self. Through projection, feelings do not vanish, but *colour* the manner in which the infant perceives the mother, who then becomes identified with these *colours* (Rock, 2010). Projection is the output from the inner world into the outer world.

Once feelings have successfully been projected onto the object, e.g. the mother, the infant feels attacked in phantasy by the angry mother. Klein coined this process projective identification: “...the infant’s experience of

¹ Melanie Klein uses the spelling ‘phantasy’ in order to distinguish it from fantasy. Phantasy is defined as largely unconscious, existing in pre-linguistic stages of infant development. In these stages, infants are not yet able to differentiate between reality and imagination. Phantasies appear in symbolic form in dreams, play and neuroses, and are constructed from internal and external reality, modified by feelings and emotions, and then projected into both real and imaginary objects. As Mitchell (1986) notes, phantasies emanate from within and imagine what is without - it is the infant’s way of ‘thinking’ about its experiences of inside and outside. Fantasy, in contrast, denote an imagined unreality where future possibilities and wish fulfilments can be consciously fantasized.

frustration and rage is projected and then experienced by the infant as being in the presence of a frustrating, enraged object” (Rock, 2010, p. 7). This object becomes the source of threat and hostility, and the infant’s persecutory feelings escalate into increasing distress and suspicion. In later life this projective identification can take place in everyday interpersonal interactions. The expectation one holds in anticipation of meeting someone unknown can influence – or colour – that person. Studies in psychology showing evidence for effects of anticipation on future behaviour are plentiful².

A second process present in splitting is introjection. Introjection plays a key role in the constitution of the internal world. Introjection denotes the taking in to the self of certain behaviours or attributes of external objects. Furthermore, good experiences can be introjected. According to Freud (1920/1961), the ego and superego are constructed through the process of introjection of external behaviour into the individual’s own persona. Introjection is the input into the inner world from the outer world.

The two processes - projection and introjection - are interdependent. Whereas projection is based on an unconscious phantasy of excretion, introjection is based on an unconscious phantasy of ingestion. Projection and introjection describe some interactions between the inner and outer worlds.

The relevance of the paranoid-schizoid position has been extended beyond the developmental realm of infants. For example, Clark (2003) provides a

² Research into anticipation and future behaviour has recently sparked renewed interest, with a forthcoming *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* article by Bem and colleagues claiming strong evidence for extrasensory perception and the ability of people to sense future behaviour.

detailed account of the use of object-relation theory in the study of racism. He contends that phantasy is not only a vehicle for the construction of our own identity, but also through projection or projective identification, the construction of the other. Through the attribution of affective states to others, they come to feel the way we do. A Kleinian approach traces such feelings in the relational dynamics of self and other. Projective work in intergroup settings has been demonstrated for social groups, such as gypsies, black people, obese people, women, the unemployed or the ill (i.e. Joffe, 1999; Joffe & Staerklé, 2007). This work shows how individuals who are defined as 'dirty', as 'matter out of place' and as abject, are positioned in the unconscious as the 'bad object', marginalized beyond the boundaries of the acceptable self (Lupton, 1999).

Similarly, work on 'othering' and stereotype content, shows how the other is used in the process of identity construction as a container for unwanted and undesired qualities, and as an object to buttress a positive sense of self (Joffe, 1999; Joffe & Staerklé, 2007). Such work shows how the containment of projected qualities can well be found in particular social categories. The splitting mechanism, which operates between the infant and its primary object, has a social counterpart in the split object of 'good' social groups and 'bad' social groups. For example, Clarke (2003) talks about 'race' as a concept that functions as container for split objects. This function is based on fear of difference, and an attempt to classify, define and therefore contain otherness. Containing fear relates to an ability to control it. Containing 'otherness' and therefore controlling fear, relates to notions of power. Through the

construction of representational material, the 'other' can be trapped or confined within certain containers, through which forms of power and status quo can be maintained (Clarke, 2003; Lawrence, 1982).

The second position in Klein's developmental framework is the depressive position. Joffe (1999) argues that the object-relations school of psycho-dynamic theory offers a plausible explanation for the cognitive-emotional tendency towards tolerance and positive intergroup relations, as the counterpart of inter-group blame and exclusion. Infants move through the paranoid-schizoid position into the depressive position. The depressive position is marked by the infant's gradual integration and maturation of cognitive and perceptual capacities. At around six month of age, the infant is more able to perceive the world and those around it, to retain and to remember experiences. The ability to tolerate negative impulses grows, and therefore the infant becomes less inclined to split and project these feelings into an object, which in turn will appear less threatening and hostile. Progressively, the ego and the object can become integrated.

The depressive position entails a shift from part-object and spilt-object relating to seeing the object as a whole. The baby begins to recognise that good and bad experiences are linked to one person: the mother or father it loves and hates is one and the same. It has only one mother/father and she/he is the source of both goodness and frustration. In other words, the infant is able to tolerate ambivalence. Equally however, the awareness of the mother/father as a whole person results in a corresponding awareness of the infant's

dependency on her/him (Gould, 1997). The emotional challenge this creates involves the infant's anxieties that any negative, aggressive or destructive impulses felt toward the mother/father will, if expressed, either destroy her/him, and therefore the goodness as well, or result in powerful hostile retaliation. The depressive position has found little entrance into the psychology of intergroup relations. The usefulness of the depressive position in the analysis of identity in multicultural contexts is yet to be shown. However, this thesis attempts to begin thinking about this deficit, by proposing that the use of ambivalence can have a positive influence on individuals and groups when constructing identities, not on the basis of the expulsion of unwanted material, but the ingestion of the desired aspects that multiculturalism offers. The negotiation of opposing elements investigated in the depressive position can aid an understanding of the use of representations in identity construction.

In sum, this section has focused on the processes involved in constructing one's identity. Through individuation of the infant, boundaries between 'self' and 'other' are drawn. Through this disintegration, the infant begins to form 'object' relations. In addition, these object relations constitute the basis of the infant's inner world of object representations. Two psychic modes of functioning pertain to object-relations. The first is the paranoid-schizoid position, where object-relations are split into 'good' and 'bad'. This split is achieved through the processes of projecting, projective identification and introjection. The ideas of projective work have a social counterpart that has been described. The second position outlined is the depressive position,

which is characterized by the integration of the good and bad elements pertaining to objects. The infants learn to tolerate ambiguity. The link between representations and the depressive position may offer new ways of looking at identity in multicultural settings. While Object-Relations sheds light on the processes involved in identity work, the following section outlines psychoanalytic ideas associated with individuals' attempts to construct a coherent identity.

4.1.2 Rosine Perelberg – the dialectic of identity and identification

Psychoanalysis introduced a novel way of conceptualising the individual: not as a (coherent) whole but as consisting of conflicting identifications that are diverse and disorderly. Freud's understanding of the constitution of the individual can be traced to his work at the beginning of the 20th Century. Freud concerned himself with the internal world and identification in '*On narcissism: an introduction*' (1914) and '*Mourning and melancholia*' (1917).

The constitution of the individual is underpinned by differing modes of thinking through a series of modifications of the ego. The individual becomes de-centred, constituted in three instances, representing the structure of the psyche. These instances are the ego, id and the superego (Freud 1914; 1917). The 'id' can be described as a set of uncoordinated, instinctual drives. The 'ego' represents the realistic, organised part of the psyche, and the 'super-ego' is the moralising instance of identification with authoritative agencies. Freud's theory implies that the super-ego is the internalization of

parental figures and cultural norms. The earliest modalities of super-ego identification adhere to mental processes of internalization experienced in bodily terms, such as ingesting or devouring (Perelberg, 2008). Freud describes 'identifications' as the modes of thinking in each of these three instances (in Masson, 1985). While the super-ego identifies with the moral and normative elements through internalization, the id seeks pleasure and acts according to the basic drives, notwithstanding any moral account. The super-ego works in opposition to the id. While the Super-ego strives to act in a socially appropriate manner, the id just wants instant self-gratification. In turn, the ego attempts to construct an unambiguous sense of 'I' as the centre of the subject. However, a sense of cohesiveness is denied to the 'I' by the co-existence of the three psychic instances. Freud pointed to 'fluidity' as a hallmark of the identificatory processes. The individual is subjected to unconscious identification processes that are fluid and mobile by definition. This fluidity contrasts with the individual's quest for a coherent identity.

Furthermore, the *individual* contrasts with the *persona*. The individual in Freud's work is decentred into the three mental instances. The emphasis is on unconscious identification processes. In turn, the *persona* is defined in terms of the conscious ideas one has about oneself. This includes the images one holds about one's body and characteristics, as well as the groups one belongs to (e.g. 'I am British'). The *persona* is '...the personality, that which is presented in terms of 'I am this (and not that)' (Perelberg, 2008, p.68). One's *persona* masks the ambiguity inherent in the fluidity of the individual.

Perelberg (1997; 2008) develops Freud's ideas on the *individual* and the *persona*. She distinguishes identity (the persona) and identification (the individual). Identification is a mode of thinking, presupposes fluidity between different positions and ideas, and is present in all individuals. Only in certain conditions (e.g. dreams) could one become more aware of one's shifting identifications (being in a variety of positions). In contrast, identity is an attempt that each individual makes to organize these conflicting identifications in order to achieve an illusion of unity (Perelberg, 2008). This illusion allows an individual to make coherent statements about the self. Characteristics relating to notions of identity are 'constancy', 'unity' and 'recognition of the same'.

In addition, because a sense of cohesiveness is denied to the individual, it is only through the attachment to objects that feelings of security are engendered, and overwhelming feelings of persecution avoided. Hence, one's identity becomes anchored in secure object relations. This is where identity becomes intrinsically social. Similarly, modes of thinking (identificatory processes) adhere to modes of social thinking, as the constitution of the ego is based on processes of internalization (i.e. of the mother/the father figure). However psychoanalysis reminds us that identity is, by definition, an imaginary anchoring in the social world. Perelberg's (2008) point of departure is that identity is an illusionary concept. Perelberg (2008) suggests that '...identifications and identity are part of the same movement, a dialectic between images and desires' (p.84).

The conceptualisation of identifications and identity as a dialectic between images and desires is revealing for the construction of identities in the multicultural environment. The images pertaining to modes of thinking (identification processes) are representational in nature. Hence, a group categorised as white, Christian or British, is beset with particular content, i.e. images that individuals can identify or not identify with. Research into SRT shows that groups are beset with certain social representations. This is where social categories become social representations (Markova, 2007). Similarly, on the basis of such images, Howarth (2004) investigated the problems posed by the imposition of representations on other groups, e.g. being represented as part of a black minority. However, little attention has been paid to ways in which desires sway identificatory processes in the construction of identity.

In sum, this section highlighted the distinction that psychoanalytic work draws between the individual and the persona. In line with this distinction, identification and identity can be conceptualised differently. While identification refers to fluid and contradictory unconscious processes, identity is the coherent personality that individuals strive for. Because a sense of identity is based on contradictory processes, individuals anchor their identity in secure object-relations. Despite the impression of security, identity remains a constructed illusionary image, resting on top of fluid identifications that represent certain desired identities. The following section will outline postcolonial critiques in the light of the need to articulate positions of power in intergroup relations.

4.2 Postcolonial Critique and Identity Work

Postcolonial critique becomes an important addition in the light of two assumptions with regard to the discussion of identity and identification processes. The first assumption is that the 'other' plays a crucial role in the work of projection, projective identification and introjection. The second assumption pertains to the idea that identity is underpinned by identifications which (through the instance of the super-ego) are the internalization social others. The postcolonial critique can shed light on ways in which the cultural, ethnic and religious 'other' is created in phantasy during the work of identity constructive processes of the self. Furthermore, it points out functional reasons for constructions of the 'other'. Such identity functions are, amongst others, in-group protection, enhancement of positive self-esteem (Tajfel, 1970; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner et al., 1987), and status quo maintenance (Joffe, 1996, 1999). Thus, it is necessary to address the political in such psychological work.

Postcolonial critique reminds us that psychology ought to amalgamate the registers of the socio-political with the elements of the psychological (Hook, 2005). It is with this attempt in mind that the postcolonial critique explores the concept of self and culture, identity and intergroup relationships, and investigates them from the point of view of difference and otherness. Importantly, for an investigation into the meanings attached to multiculturalism, the postcolonial critique helps to criticise the '...unequal and uneven forces of cultural representations involved in the contest for political and social authority within the modern world [...] It forces us to...engage with

culture as an uneven, incomplete production of meaning and value, often composed of incommensurable demands and practices, produced in the act of social survival' (Bhabha, 1994, p. 171).

The inherent interdependence between identity and the 'other' has been elaborated in detail by the work of the post-colonial thinker, Franz Fanon. In his seminal work, *Black Skin, White Masks* (1967), Fanon insists on the necessity of a psychoanalytic account of racism and colonial violence. He believes that internal and external colonial oppression are linked. This idea mirrors the psychosocial stance that the 'inner' and the 'outer' world cannot be separated (Frosh & Baraister, 2008). In addition, Fanon attempts to penetrate the part of the inner world in which the black-white problem is located.

Subsequently, three points out of Fanon's extensive work will be briefly outlined (for an extensive discussion of Fanon's work see McCulloch, 1983; Hook, 2005). Firstly, Fanon's argument concerning the integration of the psychological and the political is sketched. Secondly, the question of language, history, and 'epidermalization' – the internalization of an inferiority complex based on socioeconomic iniquities - is delineated. Moreover, Fanon relates to the concept of 'epidermalization' as referring to a historically specific system for making bodies meaningful by endowing them with qualities of 'colour' (Howarth, 2009). This way the racial other is identified and fixed by the

colour of his or her skin³ (Fanon, 1967). Finally, Fanon's psychological account of oppression is outlined.

Fanon's so-called 'white mask psychology' includes phenomena such as socially induced 'inferiority complexes', practices of 'lactification' – attempts at 'whitening the race', and the neurotic compulsion to be white. This examines the detriment of trying to understand oneself, as a black subject within the system of values of a white or European culture. Comparable to Perelberg's (2008) idea of identity as the illusionary 'mask' in the attempt to create a coherent image of the self, Fanon's 'mask' (1967) highlights the importance of socio-political influences in the construction of the 'identity mask'. It is important to pay closer attention to the ways in which the dominant cultural context plays itself out with regard to the construction of desired identity masks in multicultural settings.

Furthermore, the role of (social) thinking about objects needs to be looked at more closely. Identification processes are partly guided by moral belief systems (the superego), which can stand in contradiction to moral belief systems in the dominant cultural context. The identification process underlying integration attempts into the wider dominant cultural context may conflict with valorised or idealised identities. In this case the attempt is made to override the striving for one's ideal identity in order to adhere to socio-politically

³ Within his work Fanon addresses the circumstances of being black as pertaining to the 'black man'. There has been much work on his portrayal of the 'black female' with particular critique from Alessandrini (1999). For the purpose of this thesis, Fanon's work is assumed to be equally relevant with regard to males and females.

accepted versions of it. However, adhering to accepted forms of identity can sit uneasily with one's cultural or religious identifications.

The second point about Fanon's work concerns language and history. These have an important place in his work. Language colonizes the person, which in turn has larger implications for his/her consciousness: "To speak . . . means above all to assume a culture, to support the weight of a civilization" (1986, pp.17-18). By speaking a language, e.g. French, one accepts, or is made to accept, the collective consciousness of the French, which identifies blackness with evil and sin. Fanon (1967) speaks of 'epidermalization', which addresses the contradiction within the black person who has adopted a collective consciousness, which associates blackness with evil, while being trapped in black skin. This disjuncture between the black (wo-) man's consciousness and his/her body, creates self-alienation. As Gilroy (2004, p.46) puts it, '...[this] suggests a perceptual regime in which the racialized body is bounded and protected by enclosing skin. The observer's gaze does not penetrate that membrane, but rests upon it and, in so doing, receives the truths of racial difference from the outer body'. This implies that the black person is continuously addressed as the black person, notwithstanding his/her cultural consciousness.

In addition to language, the historical context within which the meaning of the category 'white' has emerged, depends for its stability on its negation, 'black' (Fanon, 1986). Fanon identifies historical points in the creation of psychological formations through which neither black nor white exists without

the other. Both come into being at the moment of imperial conquest. These ideas echo Edward Said's Orientalist Discourse. In his seminal work, *Orientalism* (1978), Said establishes how the West has created the Orient in order to enable a (re-)interpretation of the West, and its role in the entire world (Joffe, 2007). Said contests patterns of misrepresentation of the non-western world, which created a political system promoting the differentiation between the familiar (West) and the strange (East, Orient). Such a system assists giving meaning to the 'other' in projective work in the construction of the self. Representations of 'otherness' in multiculturalism are therefore reliant upon context, as they depend on the historical narrative of the place within which images of the 'other' have emerged. In addition, such meanings attached to particular 'otherness' as guided by the language of the given context can constrain the ways others are represented in.

Thirdly, Fanon (1967) gives a detailed account of the experience of oppression. Important for this thesis are the ways in which certain group memberships entrap the individual. Heyes (2009) describes how, in Fanon, oppression comes to stand for the systematic limiting of opportunity or constraints on self-determination because of membership in certain disadvantaged social groups. Frantz Fanon describes the experience of a black man always being constrained by the white gaze (Fanon, 1967). Evidence shows how whiteness, as a dominant identity, is advantaged. For example, Peggy McIntosh (1993), in her anthropological work, identifies 47 ways in which her 'white' advantage over her colleagues of colour manifest from the intra-individual to the interpersonal, to the societal level. Ways

include being able to buy 'flesh-coloured' Band-Aids that will match her skin tone, knowing that she can be rude without provoking negative judgments of her racial group, or being able to buy a house in a middle-class community without risking neighbours' disapproval. Other work focuses on the specific advantages white identity offers in terms of resources, power and opportunities (Libsitz, 2008). Libsitz claims that whiteness is an "...unmarked category against which difference is constructed [and that] never has to speak its name, never has to acknowledge its role as an organizing principle in social and cultural relations" (Libsitz, 2008, p.1).

The strength of Fanon's work is its ability to provide powerful ways of thinking about the conjunction of the psychological and the political, the affective and the structural. His emphasis on the emotional realm is particularly important for this thesis. Yet, one critique that has been formulated with regard to the use of Fanon's work, and that of other post-colonial thinkers, is the translation of such thought outside of its original context to modern phenomena. This argument relates to the specific historic context in which postcolonial critique has arisen, and the difficulty of using Fanon's thoughts outside of this context. However, Davids (1996) argues that Fanon's ideas are as relevant today as when they were first written and that current psychoanalytic thinking can enhance our appreciation of his contribution. One such appreciation is the insight that Fanon's work offers for looking at the facets of black identity that are problematic. The relevance of these ideas in contemporary societies are reflected in the positions that black as well as other minorities take up in society. For example, Harper (2010) describes how the African-American

male population is continually underserved in the majority of American schools, colleges and universities. Black (in particular) male identity in comparison with white male identity, remains problematic.

The appeal of postcolonial critique in the investigation of identity construction in western multicultural contexts is twofold. Firstly, Fanon most clearly demonstrates the relationship between the self and the other, and how both are interwoven in psychological and political networks of power and resistance. Postcolonial critique highlights how the self only comes to life through the existence of an 'other'. This interrelationship is apparent in Edward Said's claim that the actuality of the 'other' is based on the continuous (re-)interpretations of their difference from 'us' (Said, 1978). The notion of the 'other' in the self resonates with the *ego-alter* relationship in the dialogical encounter described by Markova (2003a; 2003b; 2007). Fanon's work describes the political dimension that underpins the *ego-alter* relationship via the depictions of the images pertaining to 'others', which emerged in the name of colonial conquest. These images buttress the contents of individual perceptions, imaginaries, and fantasies about the other at the micro-political level of individual psychology (Hook, 2005).

A second consideration is that by reflecting on non-western lines of thought, a critique of the classic understanding of western thinking can be established, which deals with the otherwise unquestioned position western psychology holds in the scientific arena. Postcolonial messages remind the scientific arena about the ideals and norms valorised in western culture, and their

difference from those of 'minority' cultures. In the light of the accentuation of this difference, ways in which minority cultures become to be demoted 'others' in reference to the valorised western cultures can be emphasised.

Pertaining to issues surrounding the identity of non-dominant individuals in multicultural settings, the notion of demotion can bear on an appropriation. Symbolically, a devalued set of cultural categories that form the substance of identification for minorities, may symbolically appropriate the means and resources for a positive identification. This idea is reflected in Aimé Césaire's (1972) notion of 'colonialisation of the mind' (Ngugi wa Thiong'o's, 1986). As long as subtle notions of the statuses of valorised versus devalued substances of identifications' are upheld by the status quo, racial inequalities can persist.

In sum, the postcolonial critique adds to this investigation by highlighting the importance of an awareness of the relationship between psychological and political realms in multicultural contexts. In order to understand the meanings underpinning representations of multiculturalism in talk pertaining to the voices of both people from dominant and minority cultures, different sets of cultural values need to be understood. Furthermore, these values need to be understood in their own right, to avoid the insertion of one cultural value into another. In accordance with the ideas of dialogicality, new meaning emerge not through the suppression or abandonment of the other's preconceptions, but through the 'selective reconstruction' of the dialogical encounter (Simão, 2005).

4.3 A Psychodynamic Approach to Social Representations and Identity Construction

Many researchers have offered the possibility of integrating SRT into the study of identity and intergroup relations (e.g. Chryssochoou, 2004; Howard, 2002; Philogene, 2007). In 2007, Moloney and Walker published a collection of work relating to SRT, specifically dealing with the question of identity. Integrative approaches are manifold, but little work has integrated psychodynamic theory and SRT. Joffe (2007) adds to this research by proposing a theory of identity construction that emphasises the contents of identity-based representations drawn from psychoanalytic theory, and the postcolonial notion of 'othering' in the construction of the self.

Joffe (1996) has highlighted the complementary epistemological positioning of both theories, for their incorporation into each other. Much like psychoanalytic theory, SRT stresses the importance of the interaction between external and internal worlds, along with an emphasis on the lay understanding of social phenomena. In addition, both theories place an emphasis on the consensual, 'ordinary things in the world' (Phillips, 1993: xi); these are the loves, fears and fantasies of people in their everyday lives (Lawler, 2008). Frosh (1997/2006) says '...when Freud introduced the notion of a dynamic unconscious, he brought a demon into the modern world which will not let anything alone, but which continually disrupts the things we take for granted and subverts the things we take to be true' (p. 242).

Joffe (1999) is concerned with the role that the construction of the 'other' plays in social representations of risk. She looks at the function of the 'other' in projects of identity construction. More specifically, certain representations of others serve certain identity functions. Such functions can include self and in-group identity protection, and the sustaining of the status quo at the level of values and ideologies, through the maintenance of power relations (Joffe, 2007). Joffe goes on to say that ideas of buttressing a positive sense of self by locating undesired qualities in 'the other' is not culture specific, but is a more universal part of the psyche. Through a social representations framework on identity, Joffe (2007) combines cultural, social and symbolic factors in the creation of identity and the work of identification in individual experience. By linking these ideas, Joffe (2007) addresses a key contention in both SRT and SIT, which is the end of the conceptual separation between the individual and society, and the realisation that processes and the content of social thinking are inevitably entwined. Hence, social forces are constitutive of the nature of identity (Moloney & Walker, 2007).

Joffe (2001) places the 'other' into a central position in a theory of identity and identity formation. While SIT and SCT attempt to explain how the 'me' is turned into 'us', Joffe (2001) looks at how the 'we' is sedimented in the 'I'. This adds to a predominantly process-orientated outlook on intergroup dynamics, by including content in the construction of subjectivity, without disregarding the importance of social forces in such constructions (Joffe, 2001). This is particularly informative when looking at multicultural environments, and the

genesis and dynamics of identities pertaining to them. Culture, ethnicity, and religion are viable categories for content-based constructions of 'otherness'.

Exclusion plays a particularly crucial role in the formation of identity in Joffe's work, which has been illustrated in several studies. Stallybrass and White (1986) show that the bourgeois person continually defines the self through the exclusion of what is marked out as low in terms of being dirty, repulsive, noisy, or contaminating (Joffe, 2007). Philogene (2007) also uses the 'other' in the constitution of the self in her development of a dynamic model of identity production. The 'cultural other' refers to representations of immigrant groups as they slowly become American, the 'social other' refers to African-Americans who are consistently excluded from full participation in American society. This construction of identity is based on the model of alterity, meaning a dominant group defining themselves negatively in ideally polarized opposition to an excluded out-group. The 'cultural other' can position themselves in negative opposition to the 'social other'. Thus the 'cultural other' can move progressively closer to the dominant group in its opposing position to the 'social other'. Even though Philogene (2007) talks about the African-American as the 'social other', she questions the changing nature of Muslim representations and their possible role as the 'new social other'. This addresses an important issue: that the flux of social representations of 'otherness' can change over time. The nature of the social group that constitutes an 'other', and the symbolic meanings that lie at the root of this 'otherness', are open to change. In particular, in multicultural environments,

the objects and qualities of 'otherness' are likely to be continuously negotiated and re-negotiated.

Qualities such as being dirty or noisy that do not map onto the core values of the culture are 'othered', meaning they are excluded and projected into another person, group, culture or even nation (Joffe, 2007). For example, Richards (1997) described the image of the African-Americans in the early 20th Century as being loud, smelly, promiscuous and criminal. A study by Howard W. Odum in 1910 pictures the US 'Negro' as '*...[having] little home conscience or love of home, no local attachment of the better sort. He has no pride of ancestry, and he is not influenced by the lives of great men. The negro has few ideals and perhaps no lasting adherence to an aspiration toward real worth. He has little conception of the meaning of virtue, truth, honor, manhood, integrity. He is shiftless, untidy, and indolent; he would live coolly in the shadow of his skin. He does not know the value of his word or the meaning of words in general*' (p.39 in Richards, 1997, p.78). People associated with these qualities are used to buttress a positive sense of identity for the dominant majority. In this view, identity is largely forged by exclusion of those that one sees as associated with undesirable qualities.

Further, McCulloch (1995) analyses the descriptions of the 'African' as lazy, violent, savage and sexually promiscuous. Such descriptions encompass everything outside of how 'Europeans' like to see themselves: orderly, reasonable, of high moral standards, disciplined, sexually continent, self-

controlled and altruistic (Joffe, 2007). The postcolonial critique outlined above addressed the political and psychological implications of such identity work.

Joffe (1999; 2001; 2007) uses psychoanalytic ideas stemming from the object-relations school, in conjunction with SRT, to explain the construction of out-groups as symbols of difference with a lowly place in the hierarchy of norms and values. Earliest representational activity strives to protect a positive inner space and maintain the work of the pleasure principle. Through the process of splitting, mechanisms are put to work to ward off the anxiety induced by perceived threats of persecution. As outlined above, the main aim of splitting is to keep the bad at bay, and to keep at heart the good at the level of representations ‘...in the hope that the bad will not invade and destroy the good’ (Joffe, 2007, p.202).

In sum, Joffe (2007) adds an important dimension to previous research into social representations by highlighting the importance of symbolic content in social representations and identity work. Symbolic content acts as a defence mechanism in the identity function of protecting the ‘good inner space’. This thesis aims to extend this research by investigating identity dynamics within the multicultural context. Furthermore, it aims to look at threatening aspects pertaining to social representations of multiculturalism. Moreover, it aims to add a positive dimension to the work of symbolic content. It will look at ways in which symbolic content is introjected in the identity function of developing the self. By ‘...reaching representations of enclosed (hidden) material a progressive entrance into the symbolic sphere’ (Perelberg, 2008, p.86), and

thus into a sphere of dialogicality, can be addressed. Therefore, the thesis attempts to tap into a more latent level of representation by looking at symbolic content in order to substantiate more manifest social representations around multiculturalism. 'Othering' processes relate to the unconscious work of object-relating, performed at a latent level of representation. The categories that motivate 'othering' processes are race, ethnicity, religion and culture, amongst others (i.e. see Duveen & Lloyd, 1992 on gender identities; Lawler, 2008 for class issues). The multicultural society makes available a variety of categories to use in identity work. The next section will outline two modes of existence, namely 'having' and 'being', that can underscore the importance of a psychodynamic take on social representations of identity in multicultural contexts. Furthermore, as organizing principles for multiculturalism, the modes of 'having' and 'being' address implications of individual and group positioning for power relations.

4.4 Research Aims

In the light of globalisation, urban Westerners embrace multicultural ideals such as equality, human rights, respect for diversity, and individualism. Yet they demonstrate some degree of resistance towards these norms through an investment in difference. A key interest of this thesis is how people in their everyday lives conceptualise multiculturalism within the binary dynamic of threat and pleasure. The location of multiculturalism amidst pleasure and threat speaks to key aspects of 'othering'. Individuals and groups that attempt to protect their cultural identity by advocating forceful separation, may be

motivated to protect a positive in-group identity (SIT) or aim to maintain the accepted status quo. Hence, threatening elements associated with multiculturalism can adhere to a threat of the 'other'. On the other hand, individuals and groups that enjoy the diversity that multiculturalism adds to their lives may advocate notions of inclusion, integration and individuation. Within particular contexts, multiculturalism can be evaluated accordingly. Negative evaluations can lead to the wish to maintain cultural traditions (conservations). Conversely, positive evaluations can lead to the acceptance of cultural innovation (pluralisation). Finally, symbolic content underpins the evaluation of multiculturalism. Depending on desires, images and fantasies in the construction of personal and social identities, openness or reticence towards integrating difference is promoted. This research looks at the latent drivers behind both the positive dimension of embracing and the negative dimension of resisting multiculturalism. Its objectives are:

- To ascertain the contents of public talk on multiculturalism.
- To identify pragmatic manifestations of social representations of multiculturalism that underlie the embracing and resisting of multiculturalism in lay thinking.
- To investigate if and how pragmatic manifestations are context-dependent and culture-specific via a cross-cultural comparison between London and New York.

- To consider functional implications of social representations of multiculturalism for identity work.

Multiculturalism is more than just an umbrella term for race relations and for religious group dynamics. Multiculturalism turns into a complex phenomenon that requires investigation on various levels of analysis: ideological, inter-group, intra-group and individual. Integrating the ideological (normative) level with the individual (emotive) level in the investigation of multiculturalism, adds to the research in this field.

Chapter Summary

As psychoanalysis is sceptical of the manifest, it provides fruitful insights into the latent drivers of identity work. Ways in which social psychological work is assisted through a psychoanalytic understanding of the processes involved in constructing one's identity have been summarized. More closely, object-relations theory explains these processes through projective and introjective work which has found entry into the social sciences. Moreover, psychoanalytic ideas around individuals' attempts to construct a coherent sense of identity have been outlined. It is argued that identity remains an illusionary image, resting on top of fluid identifications that represent certain desired identities. The notion of desire raises questions of the importance of power relations in the construction of identity. In order to highlight the normative nature of representations, this thesis avails itself of ideas stemming from postcolonial critique in order to highlight the interplay between the psychological and the political in multicultural contexts. In addition, work that has integrated SRT, psychoanalytic accounts of identity and the notion of postcolonial critique has been outlined. Finally, ways in which this research aims to use the integration of these three elements by investigating lived experiences of the multicultural context have been laid out, followed by the research aims and objective of this thesis.

CHAPTER 5

METHODS

This chapter outlines the methodological approach of the thesis. More specifically, it sketches the use of social representations for a qualitative investigation into the content of public understanding of multiculturalism. The method underlying the two large-scale empirical projects conducted to explore social representations of multiculturalism and to identity processes are presented. In the first, 48 interviews were conducted in London with members belonging to different clusters of national belonging. In the second study, 48 interviews were conducted in New York in a matched sample.

5.1 Methodological Considerations – a qualitative paradigm

Breuer (1998) defined qualitative research as a tradition based on the “phenomenological (...) and naturalistic tradition of thought” (p.14). Qualitative research stands as a counterpart to quantitative research. Mruck and Mey (2001) have compared it to a turn away from the quantitative dissection of mental and/or cultural life (Mruck and Mey, 2001). Flick (1995a) argues, following Habermas (1967), that the qualitative researcher considers an

understanding of the subject matter as preliminary; it will only reveal its true *Gestalt* at the end of the research process (Flick, 1995a).

Little qualitative work has been conducted on multiculturalism within social psychology. Societies are increasingly characterised by a pluralisation of life worlds, a milieu of blurring differentiations and cultural contradictions. This milieu is marked by an increasing individualisation of life circumstances and patterns of biography (Beck, 1986/2006). A qualitative approach facilitates an understanding of the complexities of such life worlds.

Silverman (2001) argues that within the scientific community it is increasingly accepted that work is scientific when it adopts methods appropriate to its subject matter. Yardley (2000) puts forward several appropriate criteria to assess the validity of qualitative research: sensitivity to context, commitment, rigor (or quality), transparency, coherence, impact and importance. Sensitivity to context refers to the theoretical context of qualitative research, meaning its embedding in prior theoretical and methodological investigations similar to the one in question. The aim is a vertical generalization, signifying the endeavour to link particular qualitative findings to the abstract work others have done (Yardley, 2000). Commitment means a prolonged engagement with the topic that leads to both theoretical and empirical competence. Rigor (or quality) describes the quality-building through completeness of the data collection and analysis. Rigor includes adequacy of the sample in terms of 'data saturation' (Grounded Theory Approach, Glaser & Strauss, 1967) and completeness of interpretation. Completeness implies covering ideally all variations and complexity observed in the dataset. Transparency is achieved when every

detail of the data collection and coding process is presented, for example by making detailed records of the data (audio recording and transcription) and presenting textual excerpts of the data for clarity to the reader. Transparency also refers to the disclosure of all other relevant aspects of the research process (i.e. influences that the researcher has had on the research process). Disclosure of intentions, assumptions and actions is also known as 'reflexivity' (Yardley, 2000). Coherence denotes the 'fit' between the research question and the philosophical perspective, the methods of investigation and analysis adopted. For instance, in this thesis, the aim is to give voice to the personal experience of people living in multicultural contexts in London and New York. This fits with a phenomenological analysis of interviews that can provide a rounded description of subjectively lived everyday experiences. Impact and importance has to be considered in relation to the objectives of the analysis, the applications it was intended for, and the community for whom the findings were deemed relevant (Yardley, 2000). Myrick (2006) adds systematicity as a key principle in quality control in terms of good qualitative research. Systematicity is the use of regular or set data collection and analytic processes, and can be established through the use of an explicit analytic framework.

Furthermore, the present research is cross-cultural in nature. Considering culture to be a shared way of life of a group of people, several benefits of a cross-cultural research design can be outlined. Firstly, the study of lay public understanding in two cultural and social contexts allows the exploration of similarities and differences in the pragmatic manifestations of multiculturalism.

Secondly, by having two sets of mainstream cultural knowledge, the relationship between manifest cultural and historical anchors and processes of representation can be investigated. Thirdly, the availability of two local norm-systems in a cross-culturally matched sample for the purpose of revealing the evaluation of multiculturalism, offers the possibility to show how differing underlying national or cultural normative systems relate to the lay understanding of social phenomena such as multiculturalism. In the case of all the above arguments in support of a cross-cultural research design, the comparative body of data on public understanding on multiculturalism supports a social representation approach to multiculturalism. However, both social contexts – London and New York - are western and urban, thus one can assume that there will be a certain overlap. Cultural knowledge and norm-systems may not differ a great deal. Furthermore, both contexts have an analogue language system, which could make prevalent social thought relatively similar. Yet, the similarity of the two contexts has advantages for their comparability. Comparability was assured as both samples were recruited in English-speaking, western urban contexts. Furthermore, comparability was high through equivalence of procedure and material. Finally, both London and New York are two of the most culturally mixed cities in the world (Office for National Statistics; US Census Bureau), and therefore key to an investigation of multiculturalism.

In addition, cosmopolitanism has developed as an important theme in global experience. Beck (2006) argues that methodologically ‘...for the cosmopolitan outlook there resides the latent potential to break out of the self-centred

narcissism of the national outlook and the dull incomprehension with which it infects thought and action, and thereby enlighten human beings concerning the real, internal cosmopolitanization of their life-worlds and institutions' (p.2). The benefit of a cosmopolitan methodology is that it criticises the ways research on multiculturalism is construed in classic social psychological research. This outlook on 'multiculturalism' perpetuates the 'territorial (mis-) understanding of culture and cultural plurality' (Beck, 2006, p. 29) meaning that culture is either conceived as universal sameness (assimilation) or as resisting comparison (multiculturalism). The cosmopolitan outlook in contrast means the opposite: recognition of difference, beyond the misunderstanding of territoriality and homogenization.

5.1.1 Social Representations and Methodology

The methodological substance of the investigation in this thesis relates to unearthing how people represent multiculturalism. Social Identity Theory suggests that social categories have content, and that content changes over time (Reicher, 2004). However, the meaning of content remains vague. Markova (2007) assumes that content in this tradition refers to the descriptive content of a category '...containing stereotypical statements and judgements of an out-group or self-descriptions and self-judgements of an in-group' (p.224). The assumption that categorical content can change over time, while remaining stable at times, allows for the construction of dependent and independent variables. Markova (2007) describes the diverging sense of content in the field of social representations. According to her, the content of

social representations is complex and structured (Markova, 2007). Social representations are partly embedded in common sense. They are either unconsciously transmitted through generations, or thematized in public talk. In the latter case they remain interdependent with non-verbalized ideas that are part of the traditions and habits of thoughts in a particular culture. Consequently, representational content is underscored by cultural values, beliefs and norms.

Values, beliefs, and norms are also used in quantitative work to define and operationalize various aspects of human existence. However, these notions are not employed in order to reflect upon people's everyday lives (Johansson, 2000). Quantitative research primarily focuses on factors or relationships, which are observed in large numbers of people (Yardley, 2000). Yet it is within the everyday lives of people that multiculturalism is experienced, knowledge and ideas negotiated, identities formed, and affect attached to the symbolic meanings of the multiculturalism that surrounds people. It lies outside the objectives of quantitative, and within the realm of qualitative research, to look at these aspects of people's lives.

Finally, it is important to note that the style of analysis in social representations requires specific attention. Bauer and Gaskell (2008) describe how the researcher must adopt a 'melancholic attitude' (p. 344) and observe the production of social representations without judgement or interference. The researcher must take an objective stance, standing back and remaining impartial in the observation process and not polluting the quality of

representations that are obtained. They emphasise this point in order to avoid the ‘...“iconoclastic” impetus that immediately seeks to debunk common sense’ (Bauer & Gaskell, 2008, p.344).

5.2 Research Design

The investigation looks at the content of lay representations of multiculturalism among lay publics in London and New York. Empirically, a twofold approach is constructed. Firstly, the *content* of what is represented is tapped into by looking at ways in which ‘multiculturalism’ manifests itself in people’s everyday understanding of the term. Secondly, the *dynamics* of the representations of multiculturalism are analysed by highlighting the evaluation attached to multiculturalism and its interdependence with the meaning of multiculturalism for people’s personal lives. Contrasting SRT with mainstream cognitive psychology, Moscovici (1961/76, 2000) emphasises the socially conditioned way of understanding the everyday world, rather than focusing on individual information processing. Flick (1995b) calls social representations social with regard to their content (what is being represented: social objects), their genesis and dynamic (in everyday talk between individuals and groups), their function (e.g. the exclusion of certain groups). The thesis attempts to explore functional implications of content and process-based levels of social representations of multiculturalism.

5.2.1 Free Association and Semi-structured Interviews

In both studies, interviews were conducted using a free association technique in combination with an interview structured by way of free associations. This procedure was used to explore the associative content around multiculturalism. Free associations are defined ‘...as a task that requires participants to produce the first word to come to mind that is related in a specified way to a presented cue’ (Nelson, McEvoy and Dennis, 2000, p.887). Historically, the technique of free association is related to the clinical practice of psychoanalysis. Within the clinic it is used to help uncover latent thoughts and feelings. Through processes of free association, therapists are able to extract narratives uninfluenced by conscious logic.

Frosh and Young (2008) provide a detailed analysis of the use of psychoanalytic methods for qualitative research. Holloway and Jefferson (2000) adapted the biographical-narrative method into the ‘Free Association Narrative Interview’, commenting that ‘...the free association narrative interview method is based on the premise that the meanings underlying interviewees’ elicited narratives are best accessed via links based on spontaneous association, rather than whatever consistency can be found in the told narrative. This is a radically different conception of meaning because free associations follow an emotional rather than a cognitively derived logic. Once we follow that logic, the result is a fuller picture than would otherwise have emerged, offering richer and deeper insights into a person’s unique meanings’ (p.152).

This thesis adheres to a particular methodological approach of thematic analysis conceptualised by Joffe (forthcoming). Thematic analysis elicits the major themes underpinning the social phenomena under investigation, and highlights salient affective, cognitive and symbolic constellations of meaning in the dataset (Joffe, forthcoming). As Joffe (forthcoming) highlights, this method captures meaning while remaining systematic. Furthermore, the good epistemological compatibility research combining thematic analysis, social representations and themata, provide fruitful ground for furthering this method (Joffe, forthcoming).

In order to discern the meanings underpinning, as well as identity issues associated with, the representations of multiculturalism, the thesis follows Joffe's (forthcoming) approach in the following ways: Free association tasks were used primarily to elicit initial engagement with multiculturalism. Participants were asked to spontaneously elicit four associations around the term, and to fill each association in one grid. Holloway and Jefferson (2008) outline the benefit of free association tasks for subsequent qualitative interviews. In the interview, the interviewee's patterns of thought are captured in their frames of reference, rather than those of the researcher. In this way, free associations provide a naturalistic guide for interviewees to order and phrase their own thinking. Frosh and Young (2008) explain this link as explicitly psychoanalytic as '...what matters is the emotional sense of the story, not its cognitive logic, because this emotional sense is what points to a persona's subjective meaning-making' (pp. 12/13). Once free associations around the term 'multiculturalism' were elicited a face-to-face, semi-structured

interviews were conducted with the participants. The interview followed the structure of freely elicited associations, moving from the first association through to the last. When all associations were covered, the participants were asked if they had any final or additional associations with regard to multiculturalism. The qualitative interview is the 'prototypical' method for qualitative investigation, and provides the opportunity to investigate 'thick descriptions' of thought and common sense understanding in various social milieus (Gaskell, 2000). Interviews offer an in-depth understanding of often complex and contradictory thinking, and overcome many restrictions placed on quantitative methodologies.

The advantage of using semi-structured interviews over more structured or open procedures is that this controls the transparency of the data collection process, and permits meaningful comparisons between responses (Wilkinson, Joffe & Yardley, 2004). In addition, semi-structured interviews are flexible in that they allow room for the participant to guide the direction of the interview, and to explore often contradictory and ambiguous thoughts and feelings about the phenomenon in question. The participants are given room to construct their interview, which is an important part of an interview's best practice. Gaskell (2000) argues that '...the understanding of the life worlds of respondents (...) is the *sine qua non* of qualitative interviewing' (p. 39).

5.2.2 The questionnaire

Upon completion of the interview, participants were asked to fill in a questionnaire, providing further information about the participant. The questionnaire consisted of several sections. In the first section, the participants were asked to state demographic information and rate the importance of their ethnic group, their religion, their nationality (-ies) and name of the place they felt most at home. The 'Brown et al.'s Group Identification Inventory' as a measure for ethnic group belonging was included in this section. This is an 8-item inventory with a 5-point Likert scale. It consists of four items affirming group identification in various ways (e.g. I am a person who considers this group important) and four items denying it (e.g. I am a person who criticizes this group). In the second part, participants were asked to name the five most important values in their life, followed by three open-ended questions regarding their national identity, cultural identity and personal identity.

5.2.3 Cross-Culturally Matched Sample

A purposive sample of 96 participants was recruited using recruitment agencies in London and New York (see Appendices A and B for Sampling Maps). The recruitment companies that enlisted the participants were given specific instructions concerning the composition of the sample. All participants lived in the London/New York area and were between 18 and 40 years of age ($M=31$). The sample was split evenly in terms of gender and newspaper readership as a broad indication of socio-economic status and level of

education. Furthermore, the sample was split into four nationality groups. These included: British/American white national (at least 3rd generation); British or American minority nationals; foreign nationals; and dual national (any combination of two or more citizenships). Table 2 illustrates these divisions more clearly:

Table 2: Matched Sample Group Demographics in London and New York

Group	Gender	National Group	Newspaper Reader	Total Number
London	24 Female 24 Male	24 White British 8 Minority British 8 Foreign National 8 Dual National	24 Broadsheet 24 Tabloid	48
New York	24 Female 24 Male	24 White American 8 Minority American 8 Foreign National 8 Dual National	24 Broadsheet 24 Tabloid	48

Qualitative researchers are often criticised for failing to obtain a representative sample (Yardley, 2000). However, it would be uneconomical to provide in-depth qualitative analyses for the quantity of participants required to meet the power requirements of a quantitative sample. Hence, it is of more importance to obtain a theoretically appropriate sample. In particular, purposively chosen ‘typical exemplars’ (Yardley, 2000, p.218) whose thoughts, feelings and beliefs are representative of the topic under investigation, are sought in qualitative sampling. This thesis’ sample was stratified according to gender,

newspaper readership and national group for a number of reasons. The sample of used for this research needed to reflect the demographic composition of the population in London and New York.

The national groups in this sample are constructed to represent a majority of white (3rd Generation) nationals. According to the 2007 estimate of the Office for National Statistics, 69% (7.5 million people) in London were white. In addition, in this thesis, minority nationals are represented to a lesser degree. In 2001 the estimated figure for the non-white ethnic minority population for London was 29% (just over 2 million people). Furthermore, 6.6% of the UK population (approximately 4 million people) are foreign citizens, with the largest concentration based in London. Dual nationals were included to account for individuals who grew up with a culturally diverse background.

According to the US Census Bureau, 59% of New York City's population was white (excluding white Hispanics) in 2009. Approximately 42% of the population were of ethnic minority status, with nearly 2% of two or more mixed races. Furthermore, approximately 17.5% of New York City's population are foreign citizens. One of New York City's boroughs, Queens, is the most diverse county in the United States. It contains the United States' largest concentration of Asian-Americans followed by Manhattan's Chinatown. Queens is home to the largest Andean population (Colombian, Ecuadorian, Peruvian and Bolivian) in the US. Furthermore, New York City is home to the largest African American, Puerto Rican, Dominican, and Jamaican American population in the US. According to the US Census Bureau, other major

ancestry groups in New York State are Italian (14%), Irish (13%), German (11%) and British (6%).

Age in the sample was held constant (young adult generation). The main age focus of this thesis was on a relatively young generation, in order to hold the generational variation stable. Furthermore, controlling for broadsheet versus tabloid newspaper readership served as an indicator of socio-economic status. Furthermore, media messages are assumed to influence social representations of multiculturalism.

5.2.3.1 The London Sample

The London sample consisted of $N = 48$ participants, with an average age of $M = 31$ ($SD = 4.9$, range 18-40). Further demographics include the division into national groups: British National (3rd Generation White) (BN) – 50%, Minority British (MB) – 16.7%, Foreign National (FN) – 16.7%, Dual National (DN) – 16.7%. Participants had to have lived in London for a minimum of two years to control for the exclusion of newly arrived people, who can be assumed to be in a ‘honeymoon’ state of cultural transition (Ward, Fochner & Furnham, 2001) that could skew results (see Table 3).

Table 3: Years lived in London by London Sample

	Frequency	Percent
2- 5 years	7	14.6
6-10 years	8	16.7
Over 10	25	52.1
Entire life	8	16.7
Total	48	100.0

Furthermore, the London sample divided into the following ethnic groups: 24 white (British), one White (Irish), eight White (Other), one Black (Caribbean), one Black (African), one Black (Other), one Black British (Caribbean), two Black British (African), one Asian (Indian), one Asian (Pakistani), one Asia (Bangladeshi), one Asian (Other), one Asian British (Indian), one Mixed (White British & Asian), Mixed (Other), one Chinese (see Table 4).

Table 4: Representations of Ethnic Groups in London sample

	Frequency	Percent
White (Total)	33	68.7
Black (Total)	6	12.5
Asian (Total) incl. Chinese	6	12.5
Mixed (Total)	3	6.3
Total	48	100.0

Out of 33 participants in the White group, 20 considered their ethnic group as very or somewhat important, and 12 as not important. Out of six participants in the Black Group, five considered their ethnic group as very or somewhat important, and one as not important at all. Out of the six Asian/Chinese respondents, five considered their ethnic group as very or somewhat

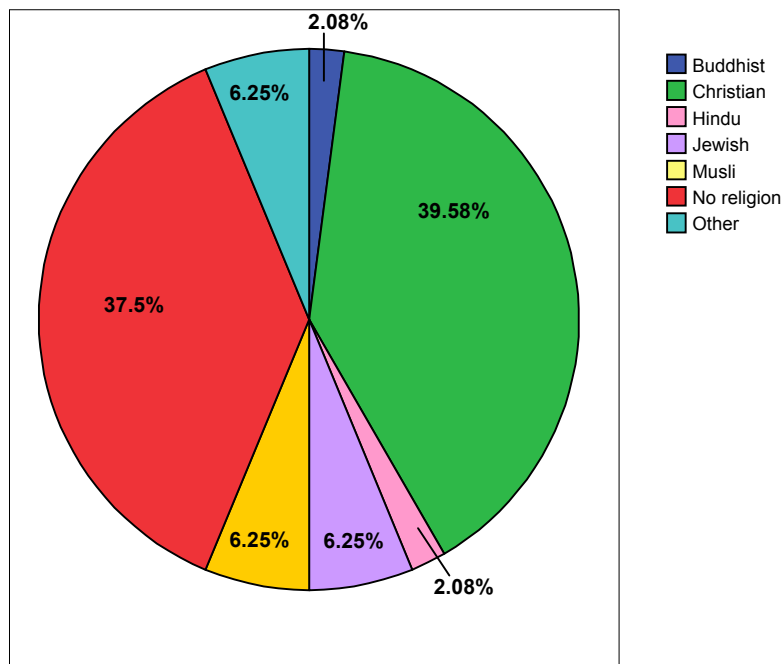
important, and one as not important. Out of three mixed respondents, one considered his/her? ethnic group as very or somewhat important, and two as not important (see Table 5).

Table 5: Importance of Ethnic Group by Ethnicity in London Sample

	Importance of Ethnic Group	
	Very important or Important	Not important
	Count	Count
White (Total)	20	12
Black (Total)	5	1
Asian (Total)	5	1
Mixed (Total)	1	2
Total	31	17

In terms of religious variability, the sample represented a majority of 19 Christians (39.6%), followed by 18 people with no religion (37.5%), three Jews (6.3%), three Muslims (6.3%), three people of other religions (6.3%), one Hindu 2.1%), and one Buddhist (2.1%) (see Figure 2).

Figure 2: Percentages of Religious Representations in London sample



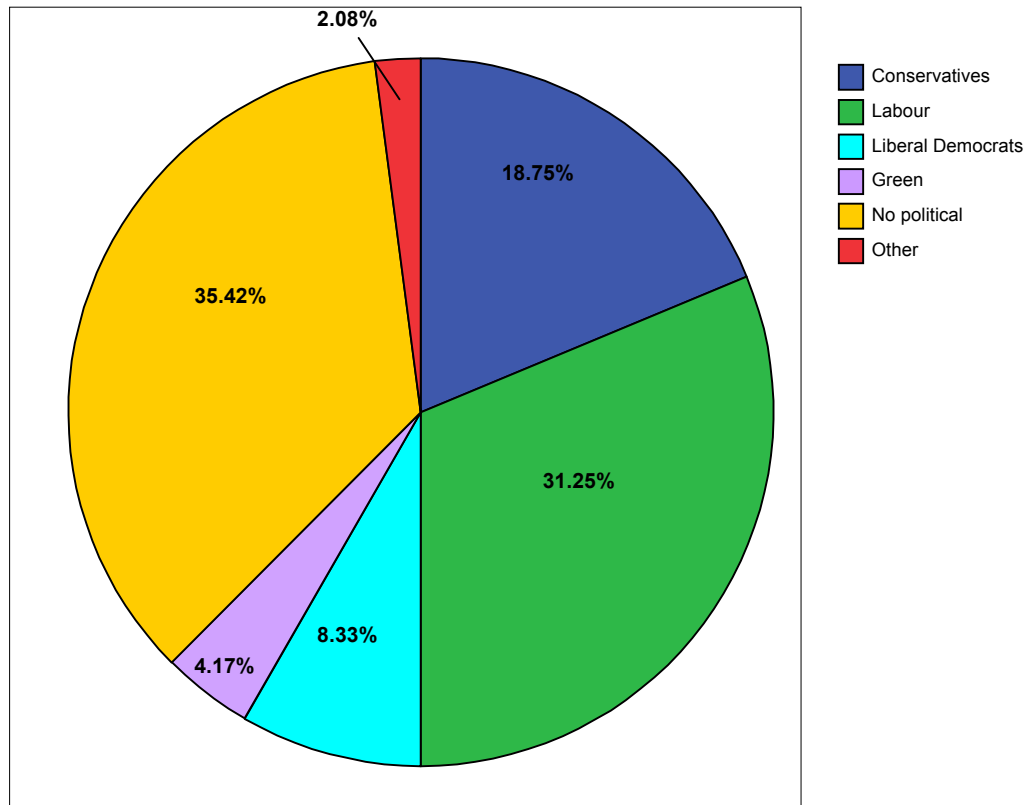
Out of 19 Christians, 16 considered their religion very or somewhat important, and three not important at all. All three Jewish respondents considered their religion very or somewhat important, the Buddhist and Hindu considered their religion very important and all three Muslims considered their religion very or somewhat important. Most participants who indicated that they were not religious found religion not important, while three indicated religion to be very or somewhat important. In addition, two belonging to other religions considered religion very or somewhat important and one not important (see Table 6).

Table 6: Importance of religion by religious denomination in London sample

	Importance of Religion	
	Very or somewhat important	Not important
	Count	Count
Buddhist	1	
Christian	16	3
Hindu	1	
Jewish	3	
Muslim	3	
No religion	3	13
Other	2	1
Total	29	17

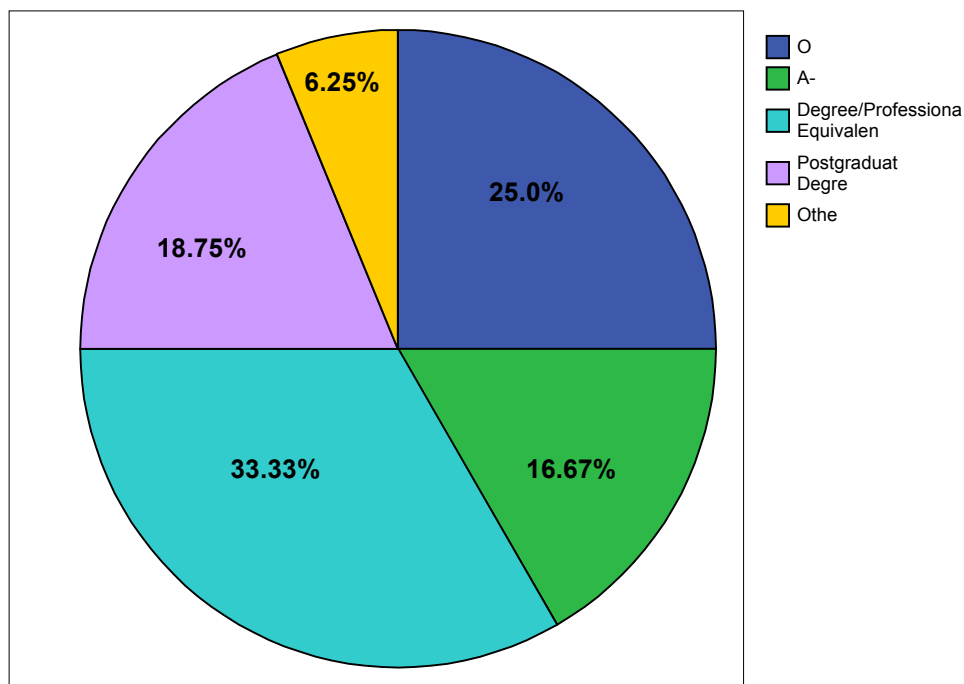
Concerning political leanings in the sample, 17 (35.4%) had no political leanings, 15 (31.3%) people were Labour, followed by nine (18.8%) Conservatives, four (8.3%) Liberal Democrats, two (4.2%) Green and one (2.1%) held other political leanings (see Figure 3).

Figure 3: Percentages of political leanings in London sample



In terms of education, 12 (25%) had O level or GCSE level qualifications, eight (16.7%) had A-Level qualification, 16 (33.3%) held degree or professional equivalent qualifications, nine participants (18.8%) held a postgraduate degree, and three (6.3%) had other forms of qualifications (see Figure 4). The sample covered a wide range of occupations.

Figure 4: Percentages of Level of Education in London sample



Additionally, the sample consists of 26 people that were in a relationship or married to a partner of the same ethnic background. Thirteen people were in a relationship or married with a partner of a different ethnic background, while nine indicated that they were single without a partner. Out of the 12 people in the sample with children, four had children with a partner of a different ethnic background, and two women were single with child, and with no indication of the ethnic background of the father.

In terms of the country of birth and the attachment to the country of birth, 36 (75%) were born in Britain and 12 (25%) outside of Britain. Out of 36 people born in Britain, 31 people felt strongly or somewhat attached to Britain, while five felt no or little attachment. Out of the 12 people born outside of Britain, 11

people felt very strongly or somewhat attached to their country of birth, and one person did not feel attached at all to his/her country of birth (see Table 7).

Table 7: Attachment to Country of Birth by Place of Birth in London sample

	Attachment to Country of Birth	
	Strongly or somewhat attached	Not attached
	Count	Count
Country of Birth		
Britain	31	5
Other	11	1

In addition to the attachment to the place of birth, participants indicated the country they felt most at home in. Thirty-six participants felt most at home in the UK/England/London, six people indicated UK/England/London in combination with another places as ones in which they felt most at home (England and Italy, Ireland and London, Spain and England, Trinidad and UK, Nigeria and UK, India and UK equally), one person indicated Australia, one Cambodia, one Cyprus, one Hungary, one Jamaica and one person indicated 'wherever I am'.

Other information about the London sample includes the variety of mother tongues represented, including Italian, Spanish, Irish, Croatian, Urdu, Bengali, German, Hindi, Punjabi, Serbian, Yoruba and Chinese (Cantonese).

In addition, the boroughs interviewees lived in included Lambeth, Harrow, Kensington & Chelsea, Richmond upon Thames, Islington, Catford, Brixton, Westminster, Brent, Fulham, Camden, Hendon, West Hampstead, Haringey, Hackney, Tower Hamlet, Southwark, Middlesex, Wimbledon, Battersea,

Hammersmith & Fulham, Redbridge, Ealing, Barking & Dagenham and Bromley/Lewisham.

5.2.3.2 The New York Sample

The New York sample consisted of N = 48 participants with an average age of M = 31 (SD = 6.25, range 20-40). National groups divided into US National, White (USw) – 50%, US Minority (USm) – 16.7%, Foreign National (USFN) – 16.7%, Dual National (USDN) – 16.7%. As with participants in London, they had to have lived in New York for a minimum of two years (see Table 8).

Table 8: Years lived in New York in New York Sample

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	2- 5 years	10	20.8
	6-10 years	5	10.4
	Over 10	12	25.0
	Entire life	21	43.8
	Total	48	100.0

The New York sample divided into the following ethnic groups: 20 White Americans, three White (Irish), seven White (Other), one Black (Caribbean), one Black (Other), two U.S. Black (American), two Asian (Other), two Chinese, four Mixed (Other), and six Other (mainly Hispanic) (see Table 9).

Table 9: Representations of Ethnic Groups in New York sample

	Frequency	Percent
White (Total)	30	62.5
Black (Total)	4	8.33
Asian (Total) incl. Chinese	4	8.33
Mixed (Total)	4	8.33
Other (Hispanic/Other)	6	12.5
Total	48	100.0

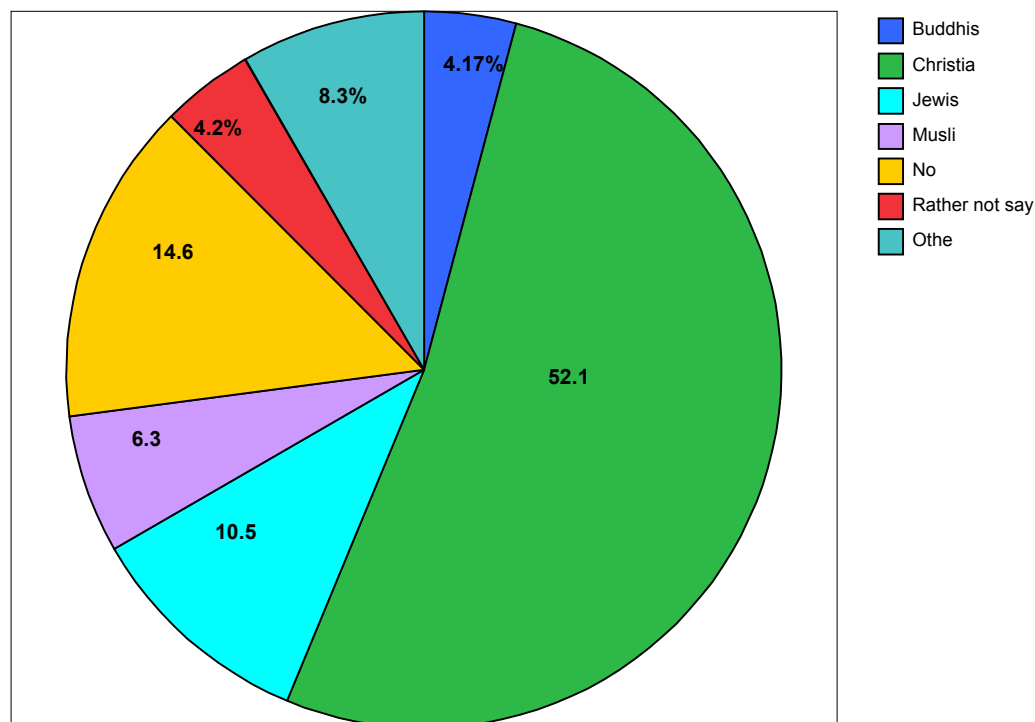
Out of 30 participants in the White group, 17 considered their ethnic group as very or somewhat important, 13 as not important. All ethnic minorities considered their ethnic group as very or somewhat important (see Table 10).

Table 10: Importance of Ethnic Group by Ethnicity in New York sample

	Importance of Ethnic Group	
	Very or somewhat important	Not important
	Count	Count
White (Total)	17	13
Black (Total)	4	
Asian (Total) incl. Chinese	4	
Mixed (Other)	4	
Other (Hispanics/Other)	6	

Religious variability in the New York sample was as follows: 25 (52.1 %) were Christian, five (10.5%) were Jewish, three (6.3%) were Muslim, seven (14.6%) indicated no religion, two (4.2%) would rather not say, and four (8.3%) held other affiliations (see Figure 5).

Figure 5: Percentages of Religious Representation in New York sample



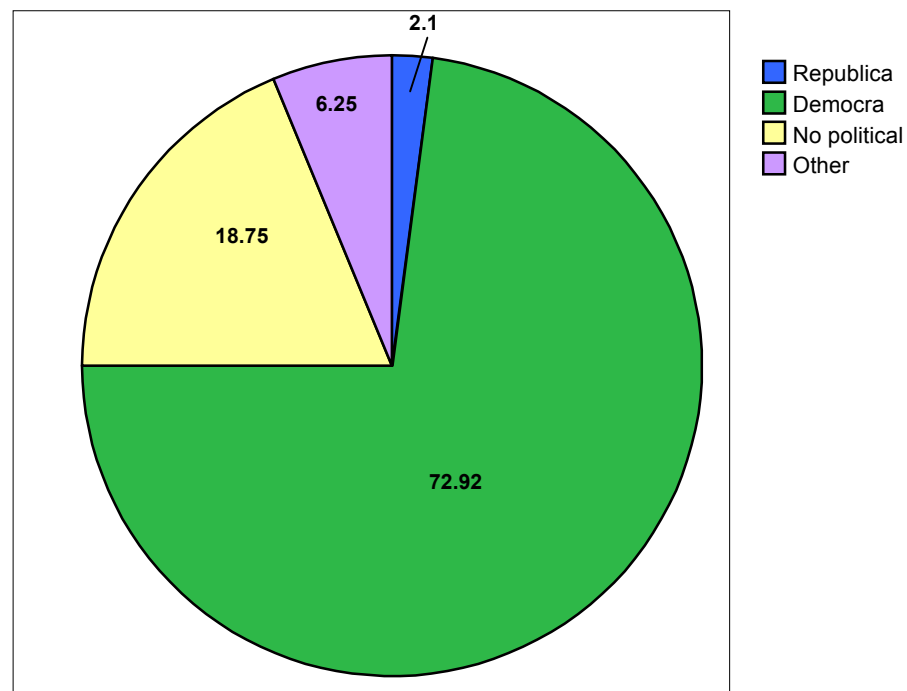
Concerning the participant's rating of importance of their religion, both Buddhists considered religion very or somewhat important. Out of 25 Christians, 22 considered their religion very or somewhat important, and three considered religion not important. Four Jewish participants considered their religion very or somewhat important, and one not important. All three Muslims considered their religion very or somewhat important. All six participants who indicated not being religious, found religion not important. Seven participants did not indicate their religion (see Table 11).

Table 11: Importance of religion by religious denomination in New York sample

	Importance of Religion	
	Very or somewhat important	Not important
	Count	Count
Buddhist	2	
Christian	22	3
Jewish	4	1
Muslim	3	
No religion		6
Other	5	2
Total	36	12

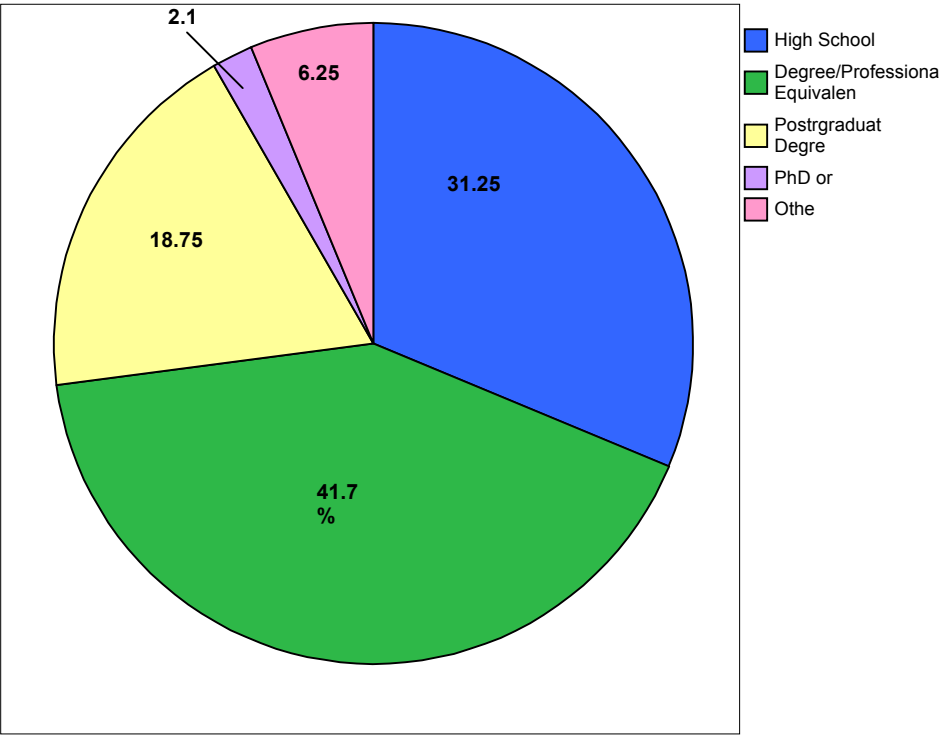
Concerning political leanings in the New York sample, 35 people (72.9%) were Democrats, one person (2.1%) Republican, nine held no political leaning (18.8%) and three held other political leanings (6.3%) (see Figure 6).

Figure 6: Percentages of Political Leaning in New York



Education across the sample divided into 15 (31.3%) participants holding a High School Diploma, 20 (41.7%) held degree or professional equivalent, nine (18.8%) held Postgraduate Degrees, one (2.1%) with a PhD or further, and three (6.3%) participants with other qualifications (Figure 7). The sample covered a wide range of occupations.

Figure 7: Percentages of Level of Education in New York



In the New York sample, 11 people were in a relationship or married to a partner of the same ethnic background. Eighteen people were in a relationship or married to a partner of a different ethnic background. Nineteen indicated that they were single without a partner. Eleven people in the New

York sample had children, out of which nine with a partner of a different ethnic background⁴.

In terms of the country of birth and the attachment to the country of birth, 35 (72.9%) were born in the US and 13 (27.1%) outside of the US. Out of 35 people born in the US, 25 people felt strongly attached to the US, seven felt a little bit of attachment to the US, and three not so much attachment. Out of the people born outside of the US, nine people felt a very strong attachment to their country of birth, two a little bit of attachment and two not much attachment to their country of birth (see Table 12).

Table 12: Attachment to Country of Birth by Place of Birth in New York sample

	Attachment to Country of Birth	
	Strongly or somewhat attached	Not attached
	Count	Count
Country of Birth		
USA	32	3
Other	11	2

In addition to the attachment to the place of birth, participants indicated the country they felt most at home in. Forty participants felt most at home in the US/New York, five people indicated US/New York in combination with another place as that in which they felt most at home (US/Russia, US/Ecuador,

⁴ In the New York sample, differences in nationality (understood as for example Irish or Welsh) were indicated as different ethnic backgrounds.

US/Czech, US/Brazil, US/Iran) and one person indicated Morocco, one Brazil and one Greece.

Other information about the New York sample includes the variety of mother tongues represented, including Thai, Chinese (Mandarin), Spanish, French, Russian, Portuguese, Berber/Arabic, Greek, and Farsi.

In addition, the boroughs that interviewees lived in included Brooklyn, Manhattan, Harlem, Upper West Side, Upper East Side, Westchester, Staten Island, Boro Park, Queens, Long Island, Bronx, and Ridgewood.

5.2.4 Procedure and Materials

In both cities, participants were contacted through a recruitment agency and invited to participate. The recruitment agencies received a screener with required specifications (age group, national group, years lived in London/New York, newspaper readership, gender). Once participants were found and had agreed to participate, interviews were conducted either in the participants' homes (London) or in facilities provided by the agency (New York). The researcher, Babette Gekeler, conducted all the interviews. During the initial contact, the interviewee was thanked for participating, provided with information regarding the nature of the study ("A study on multiculturalism") and guaranteed confidentiality. Participants were informed that the conversation would be tape-recorded, and once transcribed, the recording would be erased. All participants agreed to the interview procedure and no

problems were reported. The process then began with the participants filling in the free association grid sheet, followed by the semi-structured interview, prompting participants to talk more about their associations of what came to mind about multiculturalism.

The free associations task included an A4 sheet containing a grid of four blank boxes (see Appendix C). The instructions above the grid informed the participants to write or draw one association with regard to multiculturalism per box. Once participants had completed this task, they were asked to talk in their own words about the content of each of the four boxes in more detail. The participants were reminded that any questions that came up or would come up with regard to the project or the researcher, would be answered at the end of the interview to avoid altering the flow of the process, and more generally to avoid revealing the rationale for the investigation to the research participants until the end.

Every interview would typically start with the question 'Could you tell me a bit more about what you've written/drawn in the first box?' Once participants had elaborated on the first box, and had no more to say about it, the process was continued through to the last box. The interview would typically end with the question 'Have you got any more associations/final words about multiculturalism?' Certain probes would also be used if participants found it difficult to elaborate their understanding, such as 'Can you think of any example?' or 'Could you tell me a bit more about that?'. Typically the researcher would re-iterate the overall tenet of the elaboration of each box

once the participant found no more to say about it. This would either lead to agreement on behalf of the participant without further addition, or a continued elaboration, clarification or contestation of the researcher's recapitulations. Recapitulating participant's words had the advantage of keeping the interviewer involved in the interview, without imposing an agenda (Wilkinson, Joffe & Yardely, 2004). Interviews lasted between 15 and 80 minutes, with an average of 45 minutes. Each interview was tape-recorded and, upon completion, participants were debriefed about the nature of the study, thanked for their participation, and given an incentive fee for their contribution. They were given an information sheet with contact details of the principal investigator in case they had further questions about the study, or were interested in the outcomes. Interviewing took place in London between September and December 2009, and between May and June 2010 in New York. All interviews were audio recorded with an Olympus digital voice recorder, and were professionally transcribed as Word documents.

5.2.5 Coding

Upon completion of sampling, it was necessary to operationalize what to code. A coding framework is designed to guide the thematic analysis of the textual corpus, and to reflect the purpose of the study. While Bauer (2000) argues that the codes used need to be based on existing theory, Joffe and Yardley (2004) argue that there is little to be gained if one is not continually open to the data. The main objective is for the coding frame to provide a 'systematic way of comparing' (Bauer, 2000, p.139). In the construction of coding frames, one develops predefined and theory-driven high level

categories for deductive coding, complemented by inductive coding based on distinctions identified in the data (Joffe & Yardley, 2004).

The coding frame for this thesis was developed on the basis of inductive codes grounded in the content of the data, pilot work conducted previous to the main study (see Appendix D), and a literature review of multiculturalism in related fields (Kivisto, 2002; Kelly, 2002). Once the codes were established, the content to be defined under each code was operationalised. Consequently, two researchers coded the same 12.5% (12 interviews) of the data set independently, in order to ascertain the reliability of the coding frame. Codes that were inconsistent were altered in order to improve the criteria for the assessment of the qualitative research (Yardley, 2000). Following the modification of the coding frame, the data-set was coded anew. The final coding frame for both samples (London and New York) can be seen in Appendix E.

5.2.6 Analysis

A detailed thematic analysis was conducted on both sampling units to explore patterns found within the data. Particular attention was paid to themes, their interconnections, and the prevalence of the themes in the samples and sub-samples. Thematic analysis facilitates a detailed exploration of information by emphasising symbolic meanings embedded within interviewees. Thematic analysis is a 'way of seeing' (Boyatzis, 1998, p.1). It is, more specifically, a path into exploring the themes and patterns within qualitative data. Content can be 'seen' at both latent and manifest levels, and is either directly

observable within a source of data, or more latently underpins key phenomena. Thematic analysis is a systematic way of observing underlying meaning within a source of data, but the researcher is able to do so *in situ*. Thematic analysis is ‘...more open to interpretation than content analysis but more structured than grounded theory’ and hence a useful methodology for qualitative analyses (Joffe, forthcoming). Social representations of multiculturalism were analysed via thematic analysis, providing a ‘thick description’ of dialogue.

The outcome of the thematic analysis was captured in visual images of each theme, represented at the highest level by the overarching theme. Each level below represents further interlinked themes. The further below the themes are in the visual representation the closer the theme is to the actual interview text. Hence, the visual charts represent the coding process (from inductive to interpretative levels) from the bottom upwards.

The coding and analysis was conducted using the computer package Atlas-ti. Computer assisted qualitative data analysis packages can be useful to examine links and pathways that operate within and between data sources. However, computer packages fail to provide the in-depth level of analysis required for qualitative interpretation. Acknowledging the ‘computer myth’ (Gaskell, 2000, p.55), software packages for qualitative analysis cannot replace the researcher in the process of finding meaning in the texts being analysed. They can, however, allow one to handle large datasets systematically.

5.2.7 Researcher Reflexivity

I considered my role in the interviewing process as that of an 'inter-viewer', positioned between the subject I spoke to, and the field of exploration, namely 'multiculturalism'. In many ways this role was peculiar to me, and several observations can be highlighted.

Cultural and ethnic diversity is a part of me as a German/American mixed-race person. I have grown up amidst two (western yet very different) cultures. In the course of the interviewing process, I was well aware of my background and interests, and kept my involvement in this research under close scrutiny. Feelings of relatedness arose at several points, in particular with interviewees of mixed background, and I did my best to keep the interviewing process as professional and impersonal as possible, and to keep any private conversation until after the interview. Furthermore, I was aware of my mixed race status and its potential effects on interviewees. However, a research diary captured any reactions interviewees had to me. Furthermore, I was seldom explicitly asked about my own background. However, my background might have tainted the actual interview. Yet, the ambiguity of my own skin colour can serve as an advantage, as none of the interviewees could identify with me from the outset. The white participants were not hesitant in terms of expressing their opinion, even if prejudicial, so that even if talk may have been coloured by political correctness, I am confident that I tapped both the positive and the negative content of people's thinking about multiculturalism.

Chapter Summary

This chapter provided an overview of the qualitative methodology adopted in this research. Moreover, it outlined the methodology pertaining to research on social representations as well as to the advantages of using a cross-cultural research design. In addition, the specific research design of this thesis, using a free association task, in-depth semi-structured interviews and questionnaires, was detailed. The cross-culturally matched sample was described, followed by the description of procedure, materials and analysis. Finally, some reflections by the researcher were provided.

CHAPTER 6

PUBLIC TALK ON MULTICULTURALISM – COMMON THEMES

This chapter will outline a detailed thematic analysis of interview texts to explore people's thoughts and feelings regarding multiculturalism. The analysis is based on the content that was revealed following a free associations task, tapping into spontaneous engagement with the issue. The four themes presented in this chapter are ordered according to the prevalence of the themes among the respondents. In addition, no major difference was found between the London and the New York sample in relation to these themes. They are therefore presented as common findings for both samples. According to the suggested presentations of themes (Joffe, forthcoming), each theme is presented with an interview quote first, followed by a visual network chart detailing sub-themes. Furthermore, sub-themes often pertain to ambivalent and contradictory ideas that participants put forward. The links presented in the network chart are detailed in the thematic content that follows.

Four themes have been extrapolated In the course of the thematic exploration of public engagement with multiculturalism. These are the *primacy of*

difference, the contestation of similarity, associations around food, and the geographical space.

6.1 The Primacy of Difference

“Doesn’t matter on a percentage of the different ethnic groups or cultures and religions but it’s just more than one, more than one or two different peoples from different parts of the world being together and living together. That’s what I understand as multiculturalism in one essence.” (London, Male, MB, Broadsheet, 33)

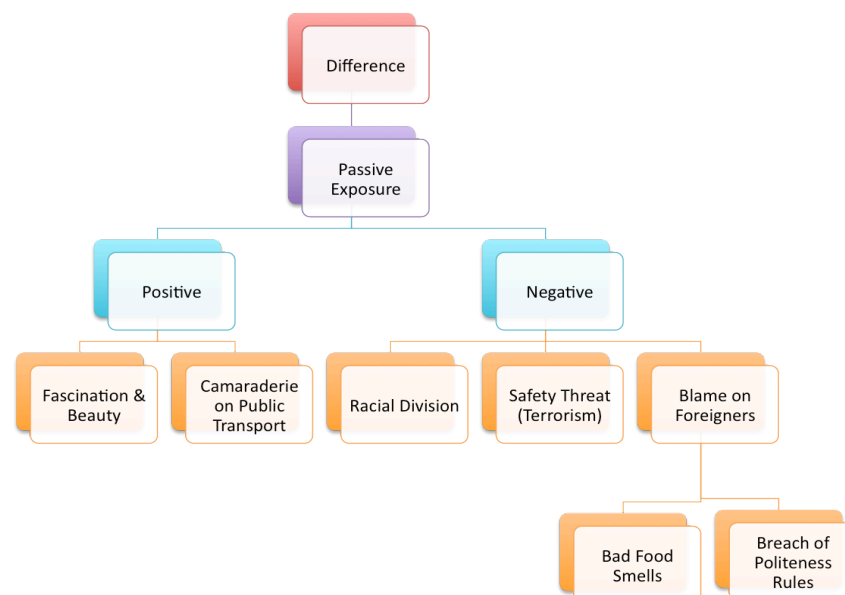
A dominant association in terms of both samples (London and New York) was that of difference. Almost all interviewees (94 out of 96) discussed the notion of ‘difference’. At the very beginning of the interview, an average of three-quarters of the participants (72.9% in London; 77.1% in New York) engaged in talk using the term ‘difference’ or ‘diverse’. Many participants defined multiculturalism as ‘different’ cultural, racial, or religious elements coming together. The most prevalent groups associated with multiculturalism were national, cultural, racial/ethnic, socio-economic/class and religion. Less frequently, homosexual, disabled or gender groups were talked about. In addition, spontaneous engagements with multiculturalism led nearly two-thirds of the participants to mention that they had friends from different cultures/religions/races. Furthermore, highly prevalent in the participants’ talk in relation to difference was the mention of ways of being exposed to the difference. The following section is divided into two parts. The first part looks at prevalent talk in relation to the notion of being passively exposed to difference in the public sphere. The second part looks at associations pertaining to active engagement with difference in the public sphere. The

public sphere is relevant, since participants' associations in relation to exposure to difference were frequently associated with the city within which they live. Most prevalently, exposure took place at the neighbourhood or street level (65%) as discussed above. Furthermore, exposure to difference was often located in public transport (22%) or in parks (24%).

6.1.1 Being Exposed to Difference in the Public Sphere

"I'm finding people from all over, London, Thailand, Bangkok, South America, South Africa, everywhere. It's just wherever you can imagine, they're in the same subway car, in the same street, so I think it's fascinating" (New York, Male, USw, Broadsheet, 26).

Figure 8: Theme 1: Difference – Subtheme 1: Being Exposed to Difference



Being exposed to difference was related to a range of topics in talk in relation to multiculturalism, including positive and negative notions of exposure in the public sphere.

"Because I like being exposed to the different, people's different stories and different backgrounds, if you sit in the subway you can see that every single person has a different story to tell, basically and through that you don't even necessarily talk to them but you can kind of see that every person has their own reason for being in New York. And so the beauty of riding the subway is that you get to be exposed to, you know, however many different cultures every day, just by sitting in one place."
(New York, Male, DN, Broadsheet, 28)

Public transport offered the 'beauty' of seeing and being amongst diversity. In addition, examples of positive elements in the exposure to difference were different ways of eating, dressing, and hearing different music escaping foreign-run shops. Also the variety of religious buildings that formed part of the scenery in the city was positively connoted. Furthermore, in the face of terrorism, there was a sense of 'low level camaraderie' in the subway/tube that gave the city a sense of togetherness despite its anonymity: *"You sit on the tube with a complete set of strangers, [but] there's a slight, there's a low-level camaraderie"* (London, Male, BN, Broadsheet, 24).

Negative associations about the exposure to difference included public places which exhibit a racial dividing line. This represented an uncomfortable symbol of multiculturalism.

"A lot of the shops in the area are run by Indian people, the corner shops, everyone that works in the Tesco's down the road. That's quite weird actually at night; you get a line mirroring the tills of white business, um white office workers, and then a line without exception of Indian people facing them, serving them. Which is a slightly uncomfortable symbol of multiculturalism"
(London, Male, BN, Broadsheet, 27).

The serving minority and the served majority aroused feelings of discomfort on the part of this participant. Furthermore, while to some participants public transport was a place of beautiful diversity, other participants characterised these places as limited in space or potentially unsafe.

“When you hop down the subway car, you know, there’s, there’s probably 50 people in each car from different backgrounds sitting, you know, right on top of each other, breathing down their throat” (New York, Male, USw, Broadsheet, 33)

Related to the issue of safety was the association between terrorism and public transport. Particularly, the notions of victory and battling defeat became clear in the following statement:

“I think it is important to combat that crime and terrorism (...) if we change the way we are then they won (...) I feel with the London bombings I think people won, they got back on the bus, on the tube I think that was great” (London, Male, BN, Broadsheet, 29).

In addition to the need to combat crime, the following participant described the raised suspicion with regard to Muslims in public transport that followed the attacks.

“During 9/11 and then the train bombing in London (...) people sort of looked suspiciously. I mean you would be on a train and you would see people looking at a Muslim person with bags on a train and you would feel sorry for them because you would be looking at them, not even in an angry way but just nervous and concerned sort of look. And imagine these people have to walk around with the bags and that man and that woman has to sit on that train and everyone is looking at them thinking they’re the next bomber or something (...) it must be quite difficult to a lot of people of Muslim appearance and faith” (London, Male, BN, Tabloid, 39).

Next to the suspicion raised against Muslims in public transport, negative associations about exposure of difference in the public sphere included a blame of foreigners’ behaviour on public transport.

“The problem is more the foreigner with foreigners the most problem. At the end it is, because it is ridiculous, yeah try to catch the bus in peach (sic.) time yeah? (...) And you see foreign people not English, because you get foreign people fighting because English (...) they don’t fight to get in bus, they get to wait for the next one” (London, Male, FN, Tabloid, 34).

In addition to the foreigners being the ones who would not respect the rules, they were also made responsible for the bad smells on public transport which evoked feelings of disgust:

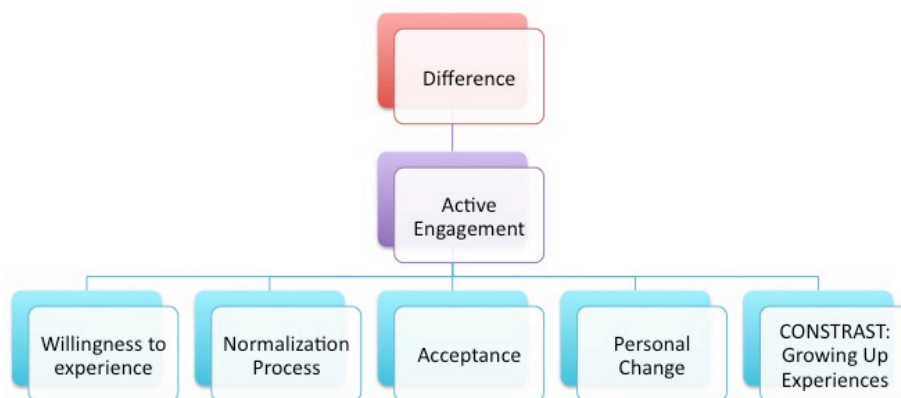
“Sometimes you can smell what people have eaten, when you’re on a bus or something and a lot of Asian people eat a lot of garlic and uh-m middle-eastern people, and you can smell it on their skin. I know I get it, if I eat a lot of garlic I go [whiffs] I can smell what I’ve eaten almost, but a lot of people really just stink. That sounds horrible but it’s the truth (...) that can be quite disgusting in the morning you know, uh-m, when someone’s breath really smells (...) it’s horrible anyway, especially for the people who don’t eat garlic or strong smelling spicy food and ‘Erg oh god’ it’s a bit sickening in the morning.” (London, Female, BN, Tabloid, 33).

In sum, passive exposure to multiculturalism in the public sphere was associated with both positive and negative elements. In the main it was associated with the ‘beauty’ of different people coming together in public life. In particular, public transport was discussed as a place of camaraderie, but also as a place of blame with regard to foreigners, making it potentially unsafe and dirty. Further negative associations included the blame of foreigners for breaking public rules of politeness.

6.1.2 Active Engagement with Difference in the Public Sphere

“Community groups, you might go into a library and talk to some people or choosing your books and reading your book or going on a holiday on a flight, or public transport uh-m... restaurants and socializing, going to the gym or doing activities where you go running or I do yoga, you are going to interact with people from different cultures”. (London, Female, BN, Broadsheet, 31)

Figure 9: Theme 1: Difference – Subtheme 2: Active Engagement in Difference



In terms of *actively engaging* with difference, participants constructed a typical flow of thought. The starting point was the resources available for different experiences:

“In public life I love the areas (...) with the shops with the different food and the different codes of conduct when you interact with them and the ways you find to connect with them anyway (...) it's fun. Just the corner shop (...) they don't speak very good English at all but we ended up in a real friendship with them it seems so much so that when one of us need to give keys to the other we'll leave keys with them and we will stand outside with them in the evening and have a Turkish tea and chat with them (...) I don't know, it's fun (...)” (London, Male, BN, Broadsheet, 27).

Connections made with foreigners running the corner shop included such positive experiences. Furthermore, experiences were made in various places, including in public transport, such as taxis:

"When I'm in a taxi with a Afghan taxi driver or something, I even chat with them maybe about something to do with how it was there or what happened" (London, Female, BN, Tabloid, 24)

In addition to the resources, participants stressed the need for a willingness to engage. Through the engagement with difference, a normalization process could take place that causes difference to be less threatening and hence normal and appreciated:

"I think just anytime you get on the tube or, not in a bad way, as in just when you're walking down the street and you're seeing so many different people from around the world um that's you know, that's quite a, that's quite new to me, but you get used to that and you know, I wanted to get used to that" (London, Male, FN, Broadsheet, 29).

'Getting used to the diversity' was underpinned by the notion of acceptance.

"I usually go to an Indian shop to get my eye-brows threaded. You, it's like the old Indian way with a thread so they make it really, really nice, so. And obviously in an Indian beauty shop as well they have a lot of like their own music playing and sometimes I move my head a little bit and it's just the acceptance it's, it's like every time I do that it's just like everybody like the personnel in there are smiling and are laughing because I accept it, something and I'm positively uh-m motivated and positively moved by that music and I think that's appreciation as well" (London, Female, FN, Tabloid, 34).

The willingness to engage with, and the acceptance of, difference as experienced in Indian beauty shops led this participant to experience an 'aliveness', which was often contrasted to the participant's experiences of growing up.

"In a basic way, living in an area like South-East London (...) [you] go to shops like, over the road, like the Polish supermarket and there's lots of sort of Caribbean food places like that way, it's good, it's experience, it's different, it's, it's experiencing things,

it's good, it's alive, it's healthy, it's good, it's not what I grew up knowing I suppose. For me London is like the epitome of what is good, is colourful, is healthy, you know" (London, Male, BN, Broadsheet, 26).

The multicultural city was seen by this respondent as a place of difference, colour, goodness, health, and experience.

In sum, actively engaging with differences in the public sphere pertained to the availability of resources, as well as to the willingness to engage with diversity. Furthermore, active engagement promoted excitement and fun, led to a normalization process and finally led to more acceptance and appreciation through developing friendships with the people running the corner shop, beauty treatment spas, and taxi drivers. Engaging with difference signified engaging in the aliveness of the city.

Interpretation of the 'Difference' Theme:

Participant's talk pertaining to difference included a differentiation between ways of being exposed to diversity that is encompassed within a given space (that of the city) and actively engaging in the diversity this space. In both cases participant's constructed a 'common' space within which difference can live, be lived and appreciated. Racial, ethnic and visually distinct religious groups symbolized the difference, which became associated with multiculturalism. This particular emphasis led participants of white majority and minority status to position themselves differentially towards the phenomenon under investigation. More specifically, while the former could

choose to actively engage in multiculturalism, the latter was by definition a part of it.

Differences in majority and minority groups' positioning towards multiculturalism can be explained by Social Representations Theory. Depending on group status, particular symbols of multiculturalism can become objectified and attached with certain meaning. Such symbols can then become incorporated in established and familiar group beliefs (Staerklé et al., 2011). Because social representations are elaborated through discussion and debate, individuals anchor such common reference points in the normative perspectives of their own groups (Staerklé et al., 2011). In this way, majority participants can actively engage with difference as a result of people's choice to move and live in these diverse urban centres and attempts to make use of the gains the diversity offers to 'contemporary' lifestyles (see for example section 6.3 on food). Additionally, exposure to diversity can be experienced to varying degrees as threatening or displeasing. Negative notions frequently become symbolized in racial, ethnic or religious out-groups (such as the threat of Muslim terrorist attacks), further indicating the normative underpinnings at work in the construction of intergroup relations in diverse spaces.

The opposing nature of pleasurable and threatening elements in both exposure and engagement with multiculturalism highlights an evaluative dimension in representational work where categories become "divided [...] in the social world" (Elchroth et al., in press, p. 735). Staerklé et al. (2011) emphasize the antinomic nature of thinking, underpinned by ideological

values, in regard to social phenomena such as multiculturalism. Oppositional values can be found in 'othering' processes (Joffe & Staerklé , 2007). This thesis shows how minority others can become represented as the depository of bad smells and hygiene in public transport. Staerklé et al. (2011) further agree with Markova (2006) that "antinomies are a key feature of social representations, in particular when they are objectified within antagonistic group relations" (p. 762). Antinomies are also present in participants' categorizations of 'differences' and 'similarities', which will be the focus of the next section.

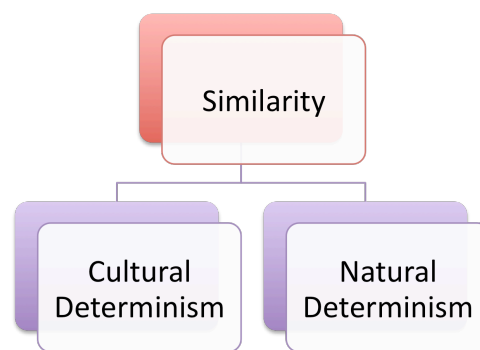
6.2 On Similarity – Cultural and Natural Determinism

*“I think the human is reasonably similar wherever you go”
(London, Male, DN, Broadsheet, 36).*

*“People are people, we’re all the same” (New York, Female,
USm, Tabloid, 40).*

*“We’ve all got something in common, you know, the fact that
we’re human for one” (London, Male, BN, Tabloid, 34).*

Figure 10: Theme 2: Similarity

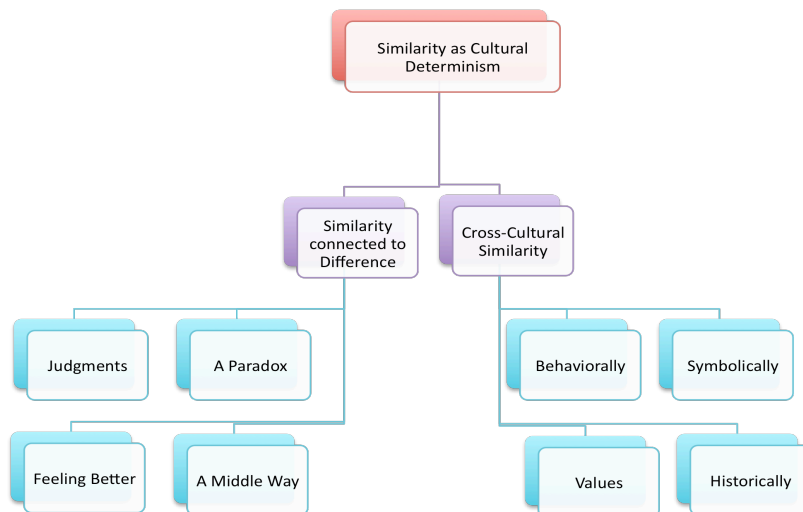


The role of ‘similarity’ was noteworthy in talk around multiculturalism. Two-thirds of all participants engaged in talk around similarity. There are a number of prevalent sub-themes within which similarity is debated. Talk on similarity pertained to a noteworthy distinction between cultural determinism and natural determinism. This section is subdivided to analyse each of these two in more detail.

6.2.1 Similarity as Culturally Determined

We are the children of that, all of us, it doesn't matter under what ideology you are, at the end of the day you can use Buddha, you can use Christ, you can use Mohammed or you can wait for the Messiah to come, that's the Jewish. But it's one idea of the good things in all of us, and that is what diversity will bring, if we allow multiculturalism as understanding there is no difference in all of us. (New York, Female, FN, Tabloid, 37)

Figure 11: Theme 2: Similarity – Subtheme 1: Cultural Determinism



Participants' talk regarding multiculturalism constructed similarity as culturally determined, highlighting cultural elements which are similar between cultures. In addition, similarities across cultures were frequently discussed. Much talk in relation to multiculturalism included a dispute about how difference fits into ideas pertaining to similarity. The interplay between the two was underpinned with connotations of engaging, learning and feeling better:

"It's about engaging together and learning more about each other and even though there's a lot of differences I think the more you speak to people the more you realize that actually people are very similar (...) that really we all need the basic things in life, you know friendship, love, you know everybody has problems in their family, everybody has financial problems (...)

you learn not only about the good things about them, but if they start discussing their problems with you it kind of makes you feel better about yourself, you actually realize most people feel like this and this in turn makes you feel better” (London, Female, DN, Broadsheet, 36).

An idea put forward was that one realizes how similar others are via engaging and learning. Everyone needs the same basic things, such as friendship and love. Moreover, the following participant talked about overcoming judgements by stripping people off racial, ethnic or religious differences. Similarity meant that people become 'just people':

“I think people in London they think ah it’s such a chaotic mess that people just become, people are finally just people. Irrespective of, um but there isn’t that, people don’t have time for the pre-judging, like the person you’re complaining to is just the person you’re complaining to, the person next to you is just the person next to you, on their own terms” (London, Male, BN, Broadsheet, 24).

In the chaos of multicultural cities, differences were no longer accompanied by judgements as no-one has time for judgement. Consequently, the messy city provided a fertile ground for the evasion of judgement. Furthermore, in a world of darkness, differences as well as similarities would be obscured.

“You can’t judge a whole race by that. Like I even, the way I see it and like, I don’t know, my mother always reminds me of this paper I wrote when I was in like 7th grade, I wrote two big papers that were like I guess phenomenal in her eyes. But one of them was about race and cultures and I said if you turn off the lights and you don’t know what’s sitting in front of you but you make friends with somebody in a world of darkness, everyone can love one another. So that’s the way I feel” (New York, Female, USw, Broadsheet, 28)

Darkness could lead to friendship with anyone, hence to the evasion of judgement. This evasion of judgement was present in participants’ ideas around religiosity.

“I put ‘shared common values and beliefs’ (...) [when] different cultures think of different beliefs and different values (...) it’s all based on one belief but they just, everybody views it differently

and they, it's like a skewed, everybody thinks different obviously but it all comes from one place (...) religion (...) whether you believe in God, whether you don't believe in God, it's still about believing in something and (...) they have an opinion on that one thing so whether it's the same or different it's still based on that one thing" (New York, Female, USw, Broadsheet, 23).

Participants frequently described how different values and beliefs are based on *"...the same message presented in different ways so that different people will understand it" (New York, Male, USw, Tabloid, 30).*

While similarities were frequently affirmed in relation to differences, paradoxically, participants also commonly represented similarity as something dull and boring: *"It would be a bit boring if everything was the same" (London, Female, BN, Broadsheet, 24)* and *"(...) it would be so dull if we were just in one type of culture" (London, Female, DN, Broadsheet, 25).*

Talk in relation to similarity and difference pertained to a dilemma. Participants sought out difference in order to gain something of personal interest:

"I don't have problems with it because I'm an inquisitive person you know I like to know about people, I like people to be different. I don't want, you know if someone is exactly the same as me I'm not going to get anything from that, on a personal level" (London, Male, MB, Broadsheet, 33)

Yet, while being inquisitive, an ideal future was represented as a time when similarity would be achieved and differences not thought about any longer.

"I think it's kind of like if we all stop thinking about it [difference], you know, maybe in three generations it wouldn't even matter, you know, so I'm hoping that in three generations that will happen, you know. I don't think it's going to happen in ours but, you know, maybe if we keep telling our kids that, it will, you know, so" (New York, Female, USw, Tabloid, 24).

Participants sought a middle way in the debate relating to the interconnectedness of differences and similarities. Both similarity and differences were weighed against each other:

“Exposing people to a different culture can be sensed as a good thing but also maybe there are, there are negative effects to it. So maybe it is like a, just like it was just an abundance of, of things that maybe is not a good result at the end, I don’t know, maybe it brings too much pollution, maybe it’s not good for everybody that everybody wants to be the same now. ‘Cos also like having this whole, er, travel open all over the world, it seems like it’s kind of globalising a little bit the opinion and the views and the, so maybe that’s not a good thing at the end of the world, at the end of the day” (New York, Female, DN, Broadsheet, 36).

The idea of opinions and views being globalised with the result that everyone wants to be the same is described as ‘pollution’. In addition to participants debating how differences fit into the ideas surrounding similarity, talk on similarity at a cultural level frequently led to a cross-cultural comparison, highlighting similarities across cultures:

“When you listen to folk music and, er, you look and watch like folk dancing, in these there are a lot of similarities between different nationalities in their art (...) like for example Georgian (...) and Spanish, they have a lot of similar tunes. Now Portuguese singing is like some kind of ballad singing, the melodies and the idea of the songs, like something sad and melancholic like about lost love or something that never happened, Russian so-called romance singing. So it, it was like identical” (New York, Female, DN, Broadsheet, 40)

Prevalent in talk about multiculturalism was the comparison between cultures in symbolic or behavioural terms. On the everyday level, the symbol of flowers was talked about as leading to universal use:

“Everybody like flowers right, it doesn’t matter what colour you are, what education you have (...) you give flowers to somebody that you like, you know, you receive flowers from someone who like you, you use flowers to decorate your house, you use flowers like for your body, you use flowers for your wedding, whatever, everybody use flowers like in the same way” (New York, Male, FN, Broadsheet, 37).

At an interpersonal level, one participant included the realisation that the common-sense things mothers 'do' was similar across cultures:

"My co-worker, she's Asian and even though we lived on different sides of the world, you know, we talk about our mothers and grandmothers, it was, it's like the old saying, you don't walk on a cold floor, you know, and she said the same thing, yeah, put something on your feet, and it was so funny, different sides of the world, still have that common belief that you don't walk around bare foot (...) it just seems there's a lot of things that all people do the same (...) getting married, going on your first date, you know, if something happens you have on clean underclothes, it was just, it was very basic things and it's just like all moms" (New York, Female, USm, Tabloid, 40).

Mothers around the world ask their children not to walk barefoot on the cold ground. In addition to behavioural cross-cultural similarities, values were also discussed:

"The [African] values are quite strong I think (...) there are definitely parallels between the two cultures if you like, I can identify with a lot of the messages [like] looking after people and you know um I guess making sure your family are safe and that sort of thing" (London, Female, BN, Broadsheet, 30).

Values related to safety and family were commonly represented as universal. Furthermore, cross-cultural similarities were anchored in history. Participants compared different aspect of historical practice, for example Western witch-hunts and African beliefs around twins bringing bad luck:

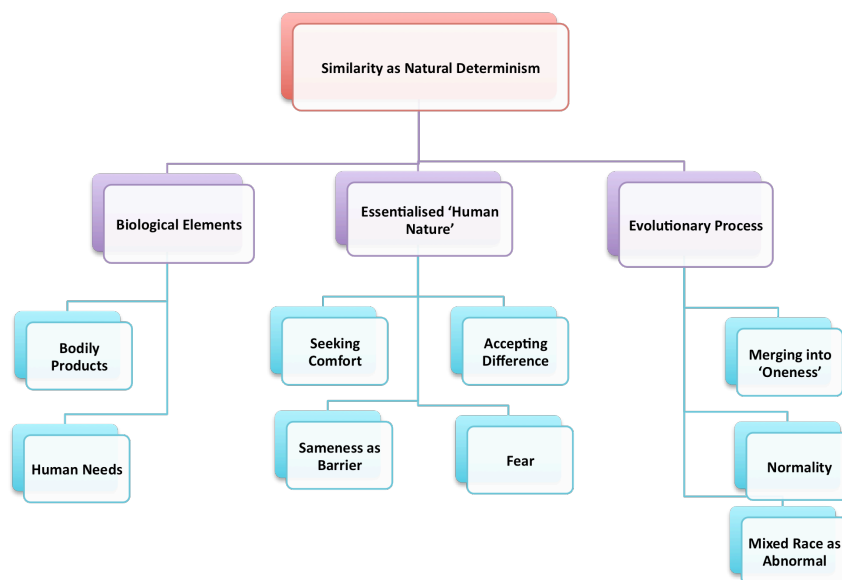
My fiancé is actually Nigerian and learning about the different sort of (...) ancient Nigerian spiritual world and the different sort of gods and different thoughts on when children are born in the family and there are some really unusual beliefs surrounding that (...) some of the things are quite alien to me initially (...) there are some tribal beliefs that twins being born is quite bad luck for example that one of them is sort of an evil spirit (...) it's quite shocking when you hear about it initially, um but then I suppose it's no more shocking than when you look at the western cultures sort of burning people if they felt they were witches or for no sort of substantial reason, it's not that different (...) some of the old views were just as shocking in both cases. What would be shocking to us now was quite common-place just a few hundred years ago" (London, Female, BN, Broadsheet, 30).

Whether a culture performed witch-hunts or twin murder – participants stressed intercultural similarities. In sum, participants considered the role that cultural differences play in the light of similarity, and also ways in which cultures are universally similar - on a symbolic, behavioural, value or historical level. The next section deals with participants' conceptualisation of similarity as naturally determined.

6.2.2 Similarity as Natural Determined

"[An] Ecuadorean immigrant that was stabbed to death by those kids (...) because they had some prejudice, I mean come on, what is that (...) skin might be darker but at the, at the end of the day (...) you're a human being, when you cut yourself, when you both cut yourself your blood is still red" (New York, Male, USm, Tabloid, 37).

Figure 12: Theme 2: Similarity – Subtheme 2: Natural Determinism



In addition to similarity as culturally determined, talk in relation to it also pointed to natural determinism. This is reflected on three levels. Firstly, a

biological one including talk about the colour of blood. Secondly, talk pertaining to a level discussing an essentialised human nature. Thirdly, an evolutionary level was promoted with all humans as one, notions of animal-like behaviour, survival instincts, and issues of normality being addressed.

Some participants justified the idea of similarity across cultures, races and religions on a biological dimension. Moreover, references to bodily products, such as blood, signified the underlying sameness across all humans:

"People, you slice them, it's red blood, so they're not different from you, they look a little different but they're not aliens or nothing (...) so that's, that's how you know that you're the same [it's] one thing that keeps, you know, everybody the same." (New York, Female, USm, Tabloid, 40).

In addition to people bleeding red blood as a human universal, the same person referred to hair texture as signifying similarity: *"Instead of being like well it's just different, it's still hair, you know, you put some fire to it it'll burn, it's hair, it's going to smell the same way"* (New York, Female, USm, Tabloid, 40).

Further biological accounts of similarity amongst all humans included human needs, such as food.

"Everybody eats. Everybody eats different, everybody gets hungry, when I go somewhere I want to try out what food they have, it's a, it's the first need you have, so if you go somewhere it's the first thing you've got to do" (New York, Male, USw, Tabloid, 30).

Biological sameness was underpinned by common needs. In addition to the biological arguments that emanated during talk on similarity, participants also

used the notion of 'a human nature' to support their arguments. Reasserting a human nature, some participants ascribed universal values to intergroup behaviour. However, adherence to these values can be hindered by another facet of human nature, which was described as the human need to create barriers:

"It's just anybody, just be polite, treat people as you want to be treated yourself, don't judge people, just you know treat everybody the same really, I think that's what it is. So whether they were black, white, whatever, they're human being and they have the same feelings that you have and they laugh at the same things, they cry at the same things, it's just, there's nothing different between us, so don't worry about kind of creating barriers or problems yourself, 'cause I think that's what we do. Um, I think that's part of human nature but I think you can rule against that in a lot of ways" (London, Male, MB, Broadsheet, 34).

Human nature has been described as inclusive of 'equals' and therefore not embracing of other cultures.

"I think it's human nature to find equals and associates, uh-m, but I think if you do that, you become less ... or you're not being inclusive, so you're not embracing culture here as you would elsewhere" (London, Male, BN, Broadsheet, 29).

Finding equals was described as not embracing others. Reasons behind the tendency to be exclusive are described in terms of the comfort and safety that similarity provides: *"I feel comfortable and feel included (...) they know my opinions, they are very similar and uh-m it's that sort of comfort of safety in the group"* (London, Male, BN, Broadsheet, 29).

In addition, seeking similarity was underscored by evolutionary arguments of survival:

"I guess it's a survival thing you would do, you stick together with the people you can communicate with and understand" (London, Female, DN, Broadsheet, 25).

The interconnectedness between similarity and difference was also underscored by the notion of 'human sameness', and questions of tolerance.

"Maybe it's the tolerance, with me growing older, is to be aware and to be, to have learned that to be tolerant you have to accept the differences. And not maybe acting like oh we are all the same. Yes, we are all human beings, with different cultures, with different rules, with different views, and tolerance to me is maybe accepting the difference" (New York, Female, DN, Broadsheet, 36).

Age and aging was connected with the growth of acceptance. Such acceptance pertained to individual efforts, but the benefit was to become part of the 'whole' world:

"It's just human nature you just get uh-m you know you get established in that group, you, you build uh-m contacts of friends (...) it's just it feels safe and protected and you know once you build your group of friends then it kind of takes a bit of an effort to reach out and say 'ok, I'm just now going to you know uh-m meet some other different people than from what I already know (...) but the longer you stay in that support group the more difficult it makes it for you to branch out and just be part of the whole uh-m whole of London, you know. Of everything rather than just that group" (London, Female, FN, Broadsheet, 34).

Not branching out of one's group of friends would hinder becoming a part of the 'whole', and the longer one waits the harder it gets to leave the inner circle. However, with regard to incidents such as the terror attacks, both cities were confronted with raised fear levels, which in turn emphasised the unwillingness of others to accept difference. The effects of the terrorist attacks were described as an animal-like reaction of fear and suspicion:

"Fear, it's not very intellectually, it's (...) just being afraid of everyday life, that it can happen, that something can happen (...) we always felt like (...) everybody wanted the same American dream. So I think for the first time it's like people are thinking, wow, some people don't want that American dream (...) after 9/11, (...) in a way I think we, it's an instinct, it's like a very animal like reaction to it. Like, fear, it's a pure fear, an instinct, it's not an intellectual process, I think (...) suddenly it's like a big slap in your face, ok time to grow up, it's not all fun" (New York, Female, DN, Broadsheet, 36).

The belief that everyone wanted 'the American dream' led to an animal-like reaction when this was proven wrong. Furthermore, not adapting to evolutionary processes that guarantee the continuation of the human race was described as the end of the human species:

"If you don't learn to adapt to other people's cultures and other people adapt to your cultures, um, it's, you know, you're going to kill off the human race, you know. It's all evolving into one thing, it's all evolving into one species eventually, where there will be no mongoloid or Negroid or Caucasoid, you know, and things" (New York, Male, DN, Broadsheet, 37).

Adapting meant understanding the biological imperative that:

"...everybody's human, you know, we all have DNA, we all have brains, we all have, nobody's really different, you know. Some have a higher melanome content, some have different bone structures, some have, you know, but that doesn't make a person who they are" (New York, Male, DN, Broadsheet, 37)

Participants described differences to be 'normal'. Everyone is just human and cultural, national or racial differences were described as something one should be aware off:

"I don't define myself as a, a race or nationality or culture and I don't see my husband as either. I mean, I see that he is different obviously yeah, and I am aware of the differences but I don't look at it this way, it's just a normal thing, we're two human beings" (London, Female, FN, Broadsheet, 34).

The following mixed race man described how he struggled with the notion of normality:

"As I got older I met people who were black and white, and you know all these different mixes and we would discuss the same struggles and it was pretty much the same thing, regardless of where we were from or what we were mixed with (...) in hearing their stories and their struggles and being able to relate to them I really felt not only like a bond and a connection and a friendship, but I understood that hey it's ok to be who we are, we're not freaks (laughs) you know. In other words we are not abnormal, it is actually normal, you know. So it did really help a lot to be

friends with other people who are not only of one race but two races or three races” (New York, Male, DN, Tabloid, 24).

In sum, talk on similarity linked to natural determinism included biological factors, such as people's blood, people's health and basic needs. Furthermore, sameness was discussed in terms of an essentialised 'human nature'. Participants prevalently stressed that it is against human nature to be inclusive, due to the human need for security and comfort. The drive for survival was further described as hindering the ability to be inclusive. Efforts to overcome this tendency towards exclusivity led to an appreciation of difference and hence tolerance. Participants highlighted the importance of adapting to evolutionary processes and understanding the biological imperative that 'we are all human', to avoid the human race becoming extinct. However, external factors such as terrorist attacks could deter such attempts to be open, and can result in instinctual, 'animal-like' reactions of a suspicious nature. Notions of biological imperatives are related to an understanding of what constitutes 'normal', and what falls within the realm of the 'abnormal'.

Interpretation of the 'Similarity' Theme:

The notion of similarity can be juxtaposed to that of difference. In participants talk similarity and difference entered into a dialogical relationship creating a thema (Markova, 2000, 2003a). In line with Social Representations Theory this means that a groups in talk around multiculturalism constitute the majority only in terms of specific minorities (Moscovici, 1979). In other words the differences inherent in minorities were constructed as divergent from the homogeneous majority. Underlying this thema were various forms of

constructions of the relation between the two parts (difference and similarity). Much talk by majority participants, for example, showed how difference is actively sought in an attempt to evade a dull sense of homogeneous similarity. However, for the White tabloid readers (in particular) this homogeneity had become threatened by diversity/difference, and was under threat of fading away. When homogeneous similarity was regarded as being under threat, negative representations of multiculturalism arose, tinged with stereotypical and prejudicial connotations.

By highlighting the cultural aspect of similarities between cultures majority participants stripped the content surrounding multiculturalism of a racial, ethnic or religious emphasis and instead highlighted the judgement-free notion of people being 'just people'. This emphasis points to the social unacceptability of intolerance and racism. These negatively evaluated norms became 'othered' and located in places beyond the city realm (see Chapter 7). Furthermore, dual and minority participants frequently associated cultural similarities with feelings of comfort. In these groups mention of cross-cultural similarities highlighted negotiations around minority rights and identity struggles (e.g. Osbeck, Moghaddam & Perreault, 1997). In both majority and minority participants' talk the notion of similarity was associated with finding comfort in knowing that humans are essentially the same.

Minority participants, in particular, focused on arguments around bodily products such as hair or blood colour in relation to naturally determined elements linked to multiculturalism. Such contents were used to affirm a

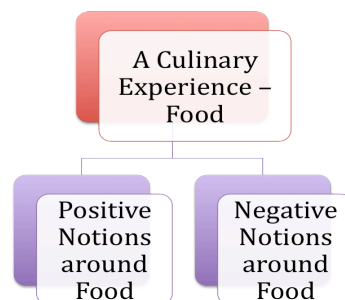
universal human nature. Participants in all groups highlighted the need to appreciate an essential human sameness.

In sum, talk on similarity seems to play a key role in people's negotiations of their group identities. Hence, people's sense of who they are is defined in terms of similarity to others (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner et al., 1987, in Brown, 2000). A centrepiece of Social Identity Theory is the relationship between differentiation and inclusion in intergroup settings. Such processes are informed by people's constructions of what differences and similarities mean to them.

6.3 A Culinary Experience– Multiculturalism and Food

“Food, food...talk about food, curry, Thai, Caribbean. Brick Lane, as I said, I love going down there. That’s the great thing about London, I mean you can walk, you can walk for an hour and you smell like twenty different types of food cooking and if it wasn’t multicultural it wouldn’t be like that (...) it’s really nice, really nice kind of aromas you get like walking around, Little China and stuff, yeah” (London, Female, BN, Tabloid, 33).

Figure 13: Theme 3: Culinary Experience – On Food

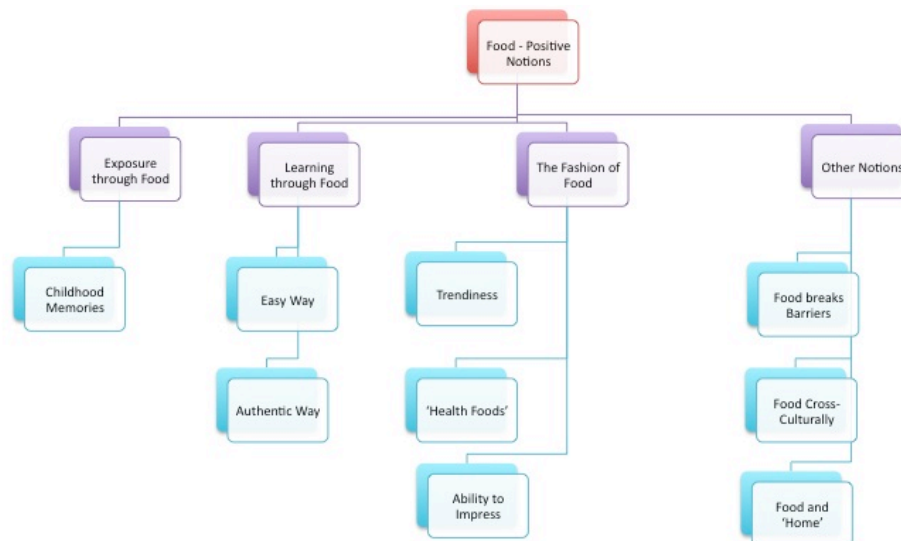


Participants related their experiences of multiculturalism to their own experiential life-world. Most commonly, the experiential realm was grounded in food, hence a vast majority of participants engaged in talk about food while elaborating multiculturalism. Both previous themes (difference and similarity) were reflected and discussed within the theme of food. In addition, mention of ‘food’ frequently invoked positive notions, which included the exposure to a variety of foods, the ability to learn about cultures through food, and food fashions. However, representing food also delineated some negative elements concerning multiculturalism.

6.3.1 Positive Notions surrounding Food

“I love going out to new restaurants (...) I tried sushi here for the first time. I’ve had Thai food, um, Indian food, any kind of food you could possibly imagine instead of just steak and potatoes so, um, you know, I think that also has really helped in me learning about different life-styles, different foods, um, the way they’re prepared, the way they’re cooked. Um, I think in New York the restaurants I think play a huge role in learning about different cultures” (New York, Female, USw, Tabloid, 28).

Figure 14: Theme 3: Culinary Experience – Subtheme 1: Positive Notions around Food



The first subtheme is the exposure to food. Spontaneous associations in talk around multiculturalism lead nearly every participant to state that they have eaten food that is culturally different to their own. Furthermore, experiences of exposure to new foods are frequently embedded in a sense of nostalgia for childhood days. The following abstract is from a minority British national (British/Pakistani) who remembered the following:

“Yeah, a kind of funny thing happened, we used to live in the Middle-East a little bit in a place called Doha when I was like 5 or 6 or something like that and there was a... God, where was she from? There was a Korean girl in my class at school, who I obviously fancied a little bit and I got my mom and dad to follow her home in the car after we’d finish and I said to my dad can

you knock on the door and ask if I can come in for some food? And my dad said fine and he did and I went in and had dinner with them. And the rice was sticky and I remember not liking the rice and telling my dad afterwards like I didn't like the rice it was too sticky, because we had Basmati rice which is like fluffy in that sense. So I think that is my earliest memory" (London, Male, MB, Broadsheet, 34).

'Rice' was symbolic for ways different cultures prepare the same thing, yet each with a different result.

"African American not so (...) different from the stuff we ate in our household but it always seemed that the rice was always very different and I never knew, and it was white rice but it never tasted the same as any other rice I'd ever had (...) every time when I would go to a friend's house I would always ask their mother how do you make your rice, they would never tell me anything. It was the same thing, like just, you know, they would say the same thing that maybe my mother would say but it never tasted the same! So that's one thing I definitely remember" (New York, Male, USw, Tabloid, 39)

Furthermore, 'rice' is to the Chinese children what vegetables are to their British counterparts:

"[My cousin] the worse thing that could happen to him is, is sit down and for dinner it's rice. He hates rice, and every Chinese child knows that when they grow up, the worse thing to eat is rice (...) it's a bit like how English children see green vegetables, when they see green vegetable like 'Erg!' and Chinese children see rice as like 'Oh, no' it's the worst thing (London, Female, DN, Tabloid, 28).

The following minority participant recollected the moment she realised how her mother's home-cooking was strange to others:

"[A friend] came around to mine, to my place for dinner, (...) so this friend came and then, I think we had, I think my mom made something that I thought was normal to eat, I can't remember what it was, and obviously when it was given to my friend it wasn't normal, and she was horrified by what she was given (...) you know Chinese people eat lots of strange things, you know, I think it must have been some fried rice and I don't know some part of a pig somewhere, you know, just something strange to her but not to me (...) and then I realize 'oh, ooh, it's different, she didn't like it, I love this' and I think that was when I realized things are different, and then when I went to her house for dinner I realized how different things were. So that was the moment" (London, Female, DN, Tabloid, 28).

One strand of associations around food in talk concerning multiculturalism thus comprised childhood memories around ‘unusual’ food, either in someone else’s house or one’s own.

The second subtheme of associations around food pertained to learning. Most participants drew on food to concretise their experiences with difference. Food was the starting point of an interest, acceptance and willingness to learn more.

“Sometimes the taste of something or the smell of something can kind of, um, bring back a memory or kind of integrate you into a culture that you weren’t already kind of familiar with. Um, I think as simple as going out for Japanese food and kind of learning how to use chopsticks and, um, you know, kind of drinking the soup like without a spoon (...) kind of makes you feel a part of that culture, you know, in that experience (...) I think of what it would be like to go to Japan or Japanese people or you just have a different appreciation, like you (...) just become more interested and more accepting of it and want to learn more” (New York, Female, USw, Tabloid, 26).

Willingness to try food was often associated with a process of learning about different cultures, and expanding the knowledge one has about one’s own food traditions. Several participants compared the experience of eating Ethiopian food, which is eaten with one’s hands, to western ways of using knife and fork.

“I went to an Ethiopian [restaurant] and you eat with your hands, you eat with the bread you like pick up this lemony bread and pick up the food that way and eat it which was great, yeah. It was interesting, quite nice to eat without a knife and fork actually, it was very relaxed (...) he [boyfriend] did tell me about this before, I think I would’ve been quite shocked if I’d just turned up and not known that and just not been given a knife and fork. It’s weird” (London, Female, BN, Tabloid, 36)

A US minority participant with a Chinese and Venezuelan background explained how, through food, one could learn general cultural standards:

"If you know what kind of food people eat (...) for example like Chinese people, they usually sit together at a round table, they put everything in the middle, they share, you know. That's not something that all cultures do, so that maybe says a little bit about the culture and how, you know, everything's supposed to be shared (...) in Venezuela it's pretty much very traditional, each person has their own plate. Yeah, but, um, when I think of the food over there I always think about like the beach and how people just eat like, like natural, you know, in natural environments like fresh fish or a lot of fruits, like very tropical like that" (New York, USm, Broadsheet, 25).

Through the exploration of culturally diverse foods, participants described a learning process. Food was not only the most *"...genuine way of like learning about people"* (New York, Female, USw, Broadsheet, 28) but it also provided an easy access to different cultures:

"I love food and I feel like that's one of the best ways to like experience different cultures and that's the easiest way too (...) one of the best ways for people to open up themselves and try different things because, you know, it's just food. You're just trying it" (New York, Female, USw, Broadsheet, 25)

The authentic atmosphere of cultures could be experienced in restaurants.

"The experience in different restaurants, whether it's a Japanese restaurant, there's a totally different feeling when you're in a Japanese restaurant, um, versus an Italian restaurant, um, the whole different experience (...) let's say in an Italian restaurant it's very open and loud and, you know, happy and they're singing or there's music going and, um, it's a really loud experience, (...) it's like almost a celebration there. Um, going to a Japanese restaurant it, it's almost the opposite. It's, it's quiet (...) more intimate, you know, here a lot of business dinners have been at Japanese places or sushi places and, um, and I feel the employees or the servers or even the chefs are, um, very sustained and they're preparing food, this is what they're here to do, is to serve you" (New York, USw, Tabloid, 28).

Further benefits around food included: trying something new (*"New York was the first place where I tried a lot of new, you know, ethnic food"*, New York, USm, Broadsheet, 25), escaping the routine cuisine (*"I love going out to new restaurants. I tried (...) any kind of food you could possibly imagine instead of just steak and potatoes"*), feeling knowledgeable (*"trying different foods makes*

me I guess, like makes me a little, feel a little more knowledgeable about the culture”), finding a conversation starter when meeting people from that food region (“...like a good starting point and then when meeting a person from that, you know, place”, New York, Female, USw, Tabloid, 28) and adding vibrancy to one’s life (“It (...) [adds] just a general kind of vibrancy (...) kind of... makes a, makes a more colourful life (...) it’s exciting, vibrant because you’re getting a sort of a taste of somewhere else, so yeah I find it quite exciting, I’m greedy as well”, London, Male, BN, Tabloid, 34). Many participants expressed excitement about different cuisines and their love of them.

A third subtheme pertained to the fashion of food. Interviewees discussed how certain ‘healthy’ foods became trendy:

“It depends also on what is trendy, and I think Sushi became really trendy didn’t it, because it became good for people” (London, Female, BN, Broadsheet, 34).

This trendiness helps advocate multiculturalism via food.

“I think a big thing in multiculturalism is food (...) food always comes in different fashions and stuff. Probably three four years ago probably a lot of people would never ever dream of sitting down eating raw fish, sushi. But now it’s like, it’s normal, so that’s changed. And things like Hummus, that’s been around for so many years, but you know, 1990 if you’d tell someone that you’re going to eat a plate of mashed up chickpeas, they going to think you’re crazy. But now, you know, it’s a fashionable thing to eat Hummus and it’s a good thing to have, you know, everyone likes Hummus, and things like uh-m Shawarma Kebabs and that kind of thing. You know, people didn’t use to like the thought of Kebabs, they thought it was probably linked more with junk food, but now people understand the different meats and different salads and different fresh bread to go around it. And I think society is getting more and more multicultural because of food” (London, Female, DN, Tabloid, 28).

Moreover, the fashion of trying food justified its means:

"There's so much delicious food (...) whether it's from Japan, sushi (...) or even Australian which we had like, like kangaroo once in a while, it's kind of cool, it's like a little exotic thing (...) it's kind of cool to try new like meat, if you will, like, not that I like, like it but it's kind of cool to say I tried it" (New York, Male, USm, Broadsheet, 23).

The idea of trendiness in eating different foods was underscored by the ability to impress by eating with chopsticks.

"In London when you go to a Chinese restaurant that uh-m you aren't automatically given a fork and a spoon as you are in the rest of the country. You have to learn to eat with chopsticks, which, which is a skill of course everybody should have. Uh-m, not least to impress your girlfriend (laughs)", London Male, BN, Broadsheet, 24).

For foreign nationals, food could ignite memories of 'back home'. The associations between food, a 'homely' place and feeling comfortable were frequent:

"The experience is like when you go to like to restaurant, for example I go to Arab restaurants, I go there, you know, they give you good service, you know, you go, you see the, you talk to the manager or to the, the server or even to the owner, you find that he is Arab or she is Arab and then they give you good service, you feel like home, you feel comfortable" (New York, Male, FN, Tabloid, 27).

Moreover, minority nationals in their second or third generation, felt able to maintain a connection to their family backgrounds through food:

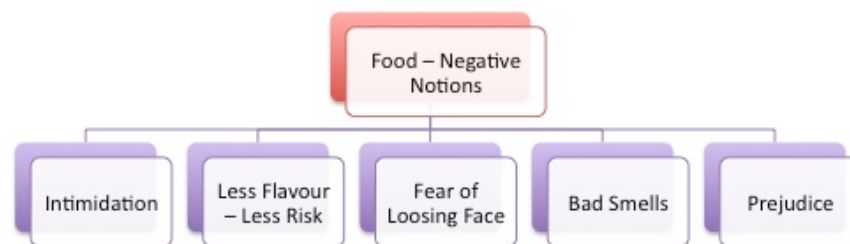
"I think food. Food is a classic example, so you know, I'm West-African by origin, I like food my mom prepares (...) rice and stew, brown rice, fou-fou there's all sorts of stuff (laughs). I've given up all these traditions but its great stuff and so when I'm around to my mom's that's on the menu" (London, Male, MB, Broadsheet, 33).

In sum, talk on food concretizes participants' experiences of multiculturalism. Positive notions pertained to the exposure to diverse foods, learning about different foods, the fashion of food as well as bringing back feelings of 'home'.

6.3.2 Negative Notions surrounding Food

“The only cuisine that I don’t particularly like is African food, and I don’t like the smell of it, I been working with black, and that ‘oooh, I can’t’ so I’m funny I judge, but it’s that particular fish that they do, and it makes me heave so, yeah. So I work with a bloke and I think ‘oh, uh-uh, do you want to shut the door?’” (London, Female, MB, Tabloid, 36)

Figure 15: Theme 3: Culinary Experience – Subtheme 2: Negative Connotations around Food



Even though the majority of participants used food to connote a positive element concerning multiculturalism, certain negative features surfaced through the use of food. Interestingly, both positive and negative notions could co-occur within the same interview. Participants adhered to both positive and negative images of food in the context of multiculturalism.

Despite the availability of a large variety of food in London and New York, participants sometimes pointed out their feelings of being unwelcome or feeling uncomfortable with regard to entering certain minority food places.

“I love Caribbean food as well, although I’m a bit scared, it sounds really weird, I’m a bit scared to go into Caribbean shops

because they just look at you like 'what are you doing in here?' (...) Little white girl, 'I want a curry...' (...) I get a bit intimidated, just 'cause you get looked at (...) and I just want to go in and try something, it's really local to me and it's different from anything else around here, but ... it's, it's always full of black people and this sounds so... I'm not racist at all (laughs) but this sounds so weird, but I am scared to go in there because I know I will get looked at (...) and I know what they're thinking, because a lot of white people think like that, they don't go in there (...) it's a feeling a lot of white people have" (London, Female, BN, Tabloid, 33)

Contrary to the benefit of exploring cultures through trying foods, some participants described how they prefer to stick to the less flavoured dishes: *"Chicken is always there yeah, yeah I think so. To try new dishes (...) I probably find maybe with chicken the flavours aren't as strong as when you have lamb or beef"* (London, Female, BN, Tabloid, 31). Furthermore, reluctance to expose oneself to culturally different food was described by the following participant as an attempt to 'keep face':

"I wanted to try Japanese food. So it's nice to go to a Japanese restaurant with somebody who's Japanese and say what's good, (...) I might not have gone in on my own, because I would have been a bit nervous and (...) it's not that you're not welcome but (...) it would not be my first thought for lunch, so I just go and get a sandwich, it's boring (...) I don't know if its intimidation. I think it's more, you always like to know, in the city especially, that you look like you know what you're doing, even if you don't. You pretend you know what you're doing (...) everybody is pretending to be something and they don't actually know what they are, so you know, if I look like I don't know what I'm doing I'm going to look stupid" (London, Female, BN, Broadsheet, 29).

The following participant explained how he evaded the unfavourable smells of 'multicultural' people by spraying good smelling cleaning product around himself when cleaning their apartments.

"I've got a cleaning company, we do flats (...) I've noticed over the last five or six years that a lot of people that live there are very mixed (...) it was mostly white people that live in these flats, but now especially I do flats in Harrow and places like that, it's all mixed (...) multicultural, every country, Chinese people, Indian people, Muslim people (...) some of the flats I do, the lady does me a cup of tea when I go there, which she is an Indian lady and it's no different than if a white lady make me tea. Uh-m, except her flat does smell of curry (...) I actually don't like the smell of

curry, and some of the [flats of] blacks I do, do smell, but I just spray it and you know, that's it, but you know, it doesn't bother me, I wouldn't not do it because of that. And I am not racist. You know, so I don't hate the people because of it, it's just their culture, you know" (London, Male, BN, Tabloid, 37)

The practice of cooking foods that are unusual when compared to one's own cooking evoked negative fantasies in some participants: *"Like Arabic food they use, um, grape leaves and it's, a lot of potatoes but she, like my neighbour cooks so good. Like I, I tasted her food and I was just like, this is not what I thought, like I just thought they cooked nasty"* (New York, Female, USw, Tabloid, 30). In addition, the dislike of smells and negative assumptions underlying the culturally different styles of cooking and food could lead to stereotypes or prejudiced opinions about other cultures:

"People, they're like 'what's that you're eating?' and I say 'it's like pig-tail' and they go like 'uh, hum' and that's one of my favourites or ox-tail and they go like 'erg' (...) I am managing a betting shop down the road (...) lots of Irish blokes and they be like 'oh, what you cookin' is that your foreign food', that's like 'cause they're quite rude. I's like 'it's English Fish Pie' (laughs) so they know, cause they're like quick so 'what's that? Like it's your foreign food' I's like [very articulated] 'it's English ... Fish Pie, which I bought from your English shop' (...) they quickly assume it's you're you know, I say it's Italian pasta with prawns, (laughs) you know, but they're quick to say 'oh it's your foreign food'" (London, Female, MB, Tabloid, 36)

Finally, participants mentioned how places outside of large cities were characterized by a lack of variety in their restaurants and foods offers.

"With Margate and here I suppose it's small, it's predominately white area, so it carries, it's still racism down there, it's not multicultural in the sense of people living down there or culture as in you know the restaurants that are there, would just be like Italian and pizza and you know. You couldn't find a nice African restaurant or nice West-Indian restaurant down there, so it's kind of a bit behind the times I think, definitely" (London, Female, BN, Tabloid, 31)

In sum, negative connotations around multiculturalism and food included the feeling of being excluded from certain eateries, or feeling uncomfortable within

them, a narrowly selected choice of food within the realm of what is known, a reluctance to explore different foods in order not to 'appear stupid', negative sensations aroused by the smell of food, fantasies involved in thinking about other cultural ways of cooking, stereotyping and experiences of being stereotyped. Also, a lack of food diversity was associated with places outside large cities. Finally, one's willingness to explore different foods could be constrained by one's opinions, stereotypes or fantasies about them.

Interpretation of the 'Food' Theme:

The notion of food was of particular prevalence in participant's talk around their experiences with multiculturalism. Such experiences could relate to a personal level including the tastes of food, which could evoke memories of childhood days. It could further lead to a negotiation of what is usual and unusual, articulating notions of normality through antinomy (Markova, 2006). By learning about different foods, through exposure and trying, one could learn about different cultures but also the manifestation of Western versus non-Western 'things'. Such differentiation can highlight the 'exotic' and its appeal - fashion and trends around food turn strange foreign elements into something normal, desired, and healthy. On the other hand, disgust, rejection and prejudice were also called into focus via talk on food.

The symbol of food substantiates some of the problematic issues relating to the 'similarity/difference' thema. On the one hand, by taking 'foreign' food into one's body, one 'consumes' difference with a view to making it part of the 'self'. On the other hand, the exposure to 'foreign' food can also lead to both

personal risk (disgust, cultural threat to the self) and social risk (source of shame and embarrassment, losing social status).

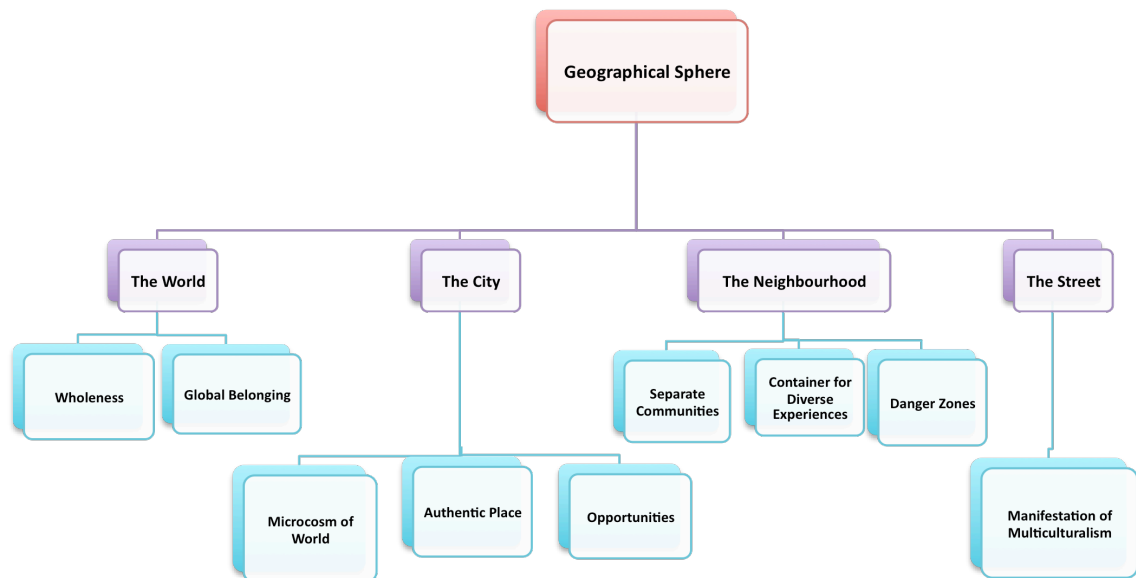
On the whole, food talk functions as key characteristic that concretises contact between different cultural, ethnic and religious groups. In this way food can represent the key symbol in lay people's intergroup contact experiences, with potential positive outcomes for prejudice reduction, lessening of intergroup anxiety and positive intergroup norms. The emphasis on food talk in urban multicultural settings supports Hopkins and Dixon's (2006) assertion of the importance of place and space in the construction of social identities which are in contact with one other. Findings show that food relates to a positive relationship between identity and food consumption. Rather than being ridden by anxiety and risk, the exposure to new and different foods is often associated with exploration, the need for change, novelty and variety. All these elements are closely associated with multiculturalism.

Talk on food varied according to participant's group memberships. Food talk amongst majority participants often pertained to the question 'what is typically' British/American? Such talk was anchored in contemporary issues of national identity. Moreover, amongst foreign nationals food was frequently used to discuss the notion of 'home'. Minority nationals' talk around food included ways of connecting to a heritage culture and family history. In sum, food was used to highlight a particular set of relevant group values that are socially shared within a social group.

6.4. A Geographical Sphere

“I think we should just have one big globe that should be for everybody” (London, Female, FN, Broadsheet, 34).

Figure 16: Theme 4: Geographical Space



All participants linked multiculturalism to a geographical space in their talk concerning multiculturalism. The entire world represented the diversity reflected in the meaning of multiculturalism. From such diversity, which is represented in the image of the world, participants moved into various sub-levels associated with geographical space. Most notably, the city [either London or New York] was symbolised as the microcosm that encompasses multiculturalism. Further geographical sublevels included neighbourhood compositions, and the street level. The following section will outline these various levels in more detail.

6.4.1. The entire World

“Multiculturalism, it’s like the different cultures that exist in the whole world” (New York, Male, FN, Broadsheet, 37).

Firstly, the term ‘world’ was frequently mentioned by participants in association with multiculturalism: *“I mean it all starts with the world”* (New York, Female, USm, Broadsheet, 25). Furthermore, multiculturalism was represented as a space within which every culture comes together and shares their differences.

“Just like every culture coming in together as a whole and, you know, um, sharing their, their feelings and thoughts about, what is (...) multiculturalism and sharing the, um, different things that they do, that other cultures don’t” (New York, Female, USm, Tabloid, 21).

Multiculturalism was described as the world coming together and sharing thoughts and feelings. In turn, the multicultural space gave participants feelings of belonging to the wholeness. Living in a multicultural environment *“...makes you like a, like a citizen of the world”* (New York, Male, FN, Tabloid, 35).

6.4.2 The City

“The first thing in my head is just the city itself. I think if you think about multiculturalism that’s, the statistics are already there, more languages spoken than any other city (...)” (London, Male, BN, Broadsheet, 24)

Interestingly, nearly all participants symbolised multiculturalism in the form of the city they lived in. Hence, all but one New Yorker talked about New York,

and all but two Londoners talked about London. In addition, a few Londoners associated New York with multiculturalism, and one New Yorker associated it with London. This city, as opposed to other places in their respective countries, symbolised a microcosm for the entire world.

"It's just more real, like it's more, a more accurate representation of the world (...) you come to London you are getting a much more accurate representation of the world at large" (London, Male, BN, Broadsheet, 26).

The city was a real and accurate representation of the world. Moreover, both cities were frequently accounted for as very (if not the most) multicultural places in the world.

"New York is kind of one of the Meccas of the entire world, just in terms of like (...) culture (...) I mean of course there are other cities in this country and in the world but I think New York definitely is one of the strongest ones" (New York, Male, USw, Tabloid, 27).

"I do see London as perhaps London as a small version of what the world actually is (...) I see that as a perhaps a mirror of actually what is going on in the rest of the world" (London, Male, BN, Broadsheet, 28)

Debating the authenticity of the city as an image of the world was widespread amongst participants, and included '*...the Mecca of the entire world*' (New York, Male, USw, Tabloid, 27), '*...the real world*' (New York, Male, USw, Tabloid, 27), '*...a small version of the world*' (London, Male, BN, Broadsheet, 28), or '*...a mirror of the world*' (London, Male, BN, Broadsheet, 28).

Paradoxically, the city was also described as a unique place, not representing an authentic picture of the world: *"I always look for a comparison (...) it's just hard to find places that compare to New York (...) I say New York is not the*

real world and once you leave New York you enter the real world, that's what I tell people" (New York, Male, USw, Tabloid, 27). In such associations their city represented a unique place. Furthermore, participants identified their city as the place that offers opportunities, freedom and work.

"London people have settled so comfortably here, bringing parts of their own identity here in the way they live and the areas they live in, so it's quite beautiful to see (...) and most of them are doing well which is another good thing (...) so the appreciation should go to the city itself where people have been so tolerant, so accepting and let other people flourish, flourish in their dreams" (London, Male, FN, Tabloid, 34)

In general, the city symbolised the diversity inherent in the world and represented a microcosm of the world. Furthermore, the city represented an authentic yet unique image of the world. Opportunities, freedom and other positive connotations were associated with the city. It is within the spatial realm of the city that most issues pertaining to multiculturalism were lodged.

6.4.3 The Neighbourhood

"I've lived in a bunch of neighbourhoods and I just associate just all different types of cultures, all different diversities, um, neighbourhoods, um, so I immediately associate like, my first thought is just Queens, because it's close to home" (New York, Male, USw, Broadsheet, 31)

What makes these cities special was their culturally diverse composition. Communities and neighbourhoods were widely mentioned as containers of specific pockets of multiculturalism within the city. In particular, the division of different neighbourhoods into different racial, cultural, ethnic or religious communities was prevalent:

"116th between 1st and Lennox, you know, it's an area that's as big as this block and, you know, this is like where the Spanish

people are. I'm sure most of them don't cross this line of 116th, not because they can't, just that, you know, they just stay in their own area, you know, unless they have to (...) 'Cos everything that you can find on 125th are African American's shops [and] on 116th they're the Hispanics shops, so you know it's really, I mean everything is convenient to everyone, to where they are, to where they live" (New York, Male, USm, Tabloid, 23)

The shared association around neighbourhoods and communities highlighted a debated dilemma: contrary to the image of the city as representative of one whole world coming together, neighbourhoods were associated with specific cultural, racial or religious communities. The idea of a common wholeness is juxtaposed with the tendency to remain in separate communities.

However, the concept of neighbourhood carried positive associations, offering a door to specific cultural experiences.

"A couple of years ago I went to Prospect Park in Brooklyn and they have it on weekends, some drummers from Africa and even I learned the dance through there, because they were dancing like African dance (...) they were very open to other people joining in, yeah. This was for me a very nice experience" (New York, Female, DN, Broadsheet, 40)

In addition to these positive connotations, neighbourhoods, such as 'the projects' in New York, were also subject to negative judgements:

"It's very like Italian white (...) if you're not white it's not right (...) that's how Staten Island is, but then like I told you, like I live up here and the projects are down here, I'm around black people and Spanish people, I'm on the borderline. Like up here's, um, the good area, and like if you go like from down here it's like the bad area. So I'm, I'm the middle" (New York, Female, USw, Broadsheet, 28).

The participant positioned herself on the 'borderline' between the good area of Staten Island, and the projects, construed as the 'bad area'.

The reputation of a neighbourhood played a role in how it was described:

"Places also go with reputation, doesn't it? I think, because Brixton has always had a kind of high crime rate reputation, so automatically if you go to an area like this and you know of those stories, it is going to make you a little bit uncomfortable"
(London, Female, BN, Tabloid, 36),

Places like Brixton could raise feelings of discomfort. Discomfort was particularly felt *"...in the evening, not so much during the day (...) when it gets dark and in the night, and the kids are out on the streets and they're bored (...) I think it is all territorial areas as well, Streatham, Brixton, you know"*
(London, Male, BN, Tabloid, 37).

In addition to notions of crime, and gangs' claims for territory, this participant described how his experience of growing up was marked by 'naivety' regarding the cultural compositions of neighbourhoods:

"When I was younger (...) 6 or 7 (...) I was having a dinner at my grandma's house and I wanted to go outside, I was getting ready to leave and, my grandfather said where are you going and I was I'm going outside to play with my Irish friends. My grandfather was like 'his Irish friends', 'cos I was in Red Hook so it was only black, Hispanic and stuff like that. So my grandfather was like what's he talking about he's going to play with his Irish friends, there's no Irish kids here, they don't even live in this neighbourhood. And my dad was like yeah he doesn't know any better, he can't differentiate between the different kids, so I had no idea. I never like thought of it that way, it never came in my head, it was just whatever. Yeah, I'm running out with my Irish friends and it would be like, you know, Tito and Dwayne, those were my Irish friends" (New York, Male, USw, Tabloid, 39).

In sum, neighbourhoods were associated with the world coming together in one city and creating a space that was made up of a variety of cultures, races and religions. Specific symbols underpinned both positive and negative associations around multiculturalism. In its positive associations neighbourhoods opened doors to cultural experiences, while in its negative

associations neighbourhoods related to the 'projects', the street-corner, crime and territorial claims.

6.4.4 The Streets

"We always think about multiculturalism on the street level, because you can feel it there, yeah. And like its products are there, you know" (New York, Male, DN, Tabloid, 23).

Another geographical dimension associated with multiculturalism was the 'Streets'. This is where multiculturalism manifested itself and became visible.

"Even just walking down the street and seeing everyone's faces, you can see that everyone is from different places" (London, Male, DN, Tabloid, 32),

"The second I get off the train I'm finding people all over, London, Thailand, Bangkok, uh-m South America, South Africa, everywhere. It's just wherever you can image, they're in the same subway car, in the same street, it's fascinating" (New York, Male, USw, Broadsheet, 26).

In addition to the people that made up the diversity, businesses, and the products they offer, did so as well. One *"...can walk down a street in the Village and we would see Thai restaurants, Mexicans, um, Spaniard restaurants, Greek, we have multiculturalism (...)"* (New York, Make, USw, Tabloid, 36), or *"...you walk down the street and there's all sorts of shops and restaurants and they have nothing to do with England"* (London, Female, FN, Broadsheet, 34).

The visibility of multiculturalism at the street-level made participants feel excited, because of it offering different possibilities. The more difference was manifest at the street level, the more excitement was experienced.

"Just walking down the street can be quite exciting or interesting [because] there are these different possibilities [but] I'm probably

prejudiced against the Australians in terms of the ways in which it manifests itself in the street life (...) in chain-bars a chain of back-packers, hostels and a pie shop, which maybe I have less interest in the cultures of English-speaking white nations, than say something that I would associate with being completely different to my own background and therefore is intrinsically more interesting.” (London, Male, BN, Broadsheet, 24).

In contrast, similarity also meant sameness, something that could be felt and experienced on the street:

“Walking amongst each other, we’re all the same, that sort of thing, enjoy that feeling of walking down Streatham High Road (...) just being amongst that, being supportive of that, is important” (London, Male, BN, Broadsheet, 26).

Enjoyment included the notion of walking amongst each other. In addition, the specific compositions of different neighbourhoods were visible and could be experienced in street-life. The images of the ‘border’ and ‘pockets’ marked a sharp contrast between different street-lives:

“It’s strange though if you go to the parallel road to this West End Lane, Kilburn, say most of it is a 100 yard gap between the two (...) there’s a much bigger Black and Asian community, shops are completely different, different price pockets, different cars, different genre of shops, you know, uh-m markets that would never be here. 100 yards away, it’s amazing it’s like a village down the road as if it’s miles from the other (...) [and] street life is very different in them, like around here is very similar to Surrey really, and so is Primrose Hill, well more like a heritage hyper-real version of it” (London, Male, BN, Broadsheet, 27).

In addition to images denoting a border or endpoint, the image of the ‘street-corner’ was mentioned in conjunction with the negative elements of multiculturalism that are manifest at the street level:

“Down in north Bronx, you know, some bad areas are pretty bad down there and they stick you on a street corner when you first come out, you know, and you got constantly things going on, you got people on the street, smoking, doing drugs, all kinds of things right in front of you. It’s like a different part of the world” (New York, Male, USw, Tabloid, 40).

Finally, one participant described how the street life of the city, which is composed of different cultures, represents variety. However, having so much diversity in London was described as having become normal, and therefore is now devoid of novelty:

“London you see the fact there is a, there might be a specialist West-Indian supermarket on one corner and some pub that has been converted into an Islamic cultural centre on the other side of the road is absolutely, has absolutely no (laughs) so there’s variety but no novelty to it. It’s just part of the culture, part of the, street life of it all” (London, Male, BN, Broadsheet, 24).

In contrast, participants often pointed out that such diversity did not exist in places outside the city. Therefore, a foreign-run business setting up, such as a Greek restaurant opening, or an African family moving into the neighbourhood, represented a ‘novelty’ and becomes ‘the talk of the town’.

In sum, the geographical spaces invoked in the interviewee’s talk around multiculturalism included the dimension of ‘the world’ as a symbol for wholeness and global belonging, which was further symbolised at the level of the city. The city was associated with different neighbourhoods, each with a distinct street-life. The cultural distinctiveness of separate neighbourhoods offered an entrance to different cultural experience and marked the division between cultures, races and religions. Neighbourhoods were also associated with negative elements, such as crime and territorial claims. A further geographical place anchor was the street with its street-life, where multiculturalism manifests itself and can be seen, felt and experienced, and its products bought.

Interpretation of the 'Geographical Sphere' Theme:

With no differences across groups a ubiquitous use of geographical imagery was present in participant's talk, highlighting the importance of spatiality in experiences and associations of multiculturalism. The importance of space is identified by Stedman (2002), who says that a place is a centre of meaning based on human experience, social relationships, emotions and thoughts. As interaction amongst people take place in time and space, intergroup processes are closely linked to place and identity becomes an integral part of such processes (Reicher, Hopkins & Harrison, 2006). Multiculturalism was represented in terms of a variety of geographical dimensions, such as the world, the city, the neighbourhood and the street.

The world as a metaphor for multiculturalism addresses what is captured in the term 'global citizen', a sense of belonging to the world as a whole. Multiculturalism offers fertile ground for people to construct their identity as global, as it offers them to avail themselves of a lot of differences in their everyday lives. The city became represented as a space that 'mirrored' the entire multicultural world. Furthermore, it was contrasted to places outside the city, with these places carrying negative connotations, such as intolerance and backwardness. With regard to people's identities, constructing such a dichotomous spatiality of within and without the city finds support in group differentiation studies stemming from Social Identity Theory.

Neighbourhood level accounts differed more strongly between majority and minority groups with majorities mainly focusing on the overall diversity and the advantages specific cultural spaces offer. In contrast, minorities frequently highlighted the difficulties of living in diverse or predominantly minority populated neighbourhoods. Streets carried meanings as places where multicultural life manifests itself, indicating a connection between representations of multiculturalism and the places where people experience it. Space functions as an organizing principle in investigations of cultural differences (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992). One of the problems this leads to is the implicit mapping of cultures onto places to account for multiculturalism. Hence, despite evidence showing the advantages of contact, such as reduction in race stereotypes and anxiety, an increase in positive inter-racial emotions such as liking and empathy, and a heightened tendency to form inclusive identities in which 'they' become 'we' (Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006, Dixon et al., 2008), segregation can persist within the residential design of multicultural urban settings (e.g. Adelman & Gocker, 2007). Segregation can penetrate even into the most 'banal' of everyday scenes, such as beaches, parks, cafeterias, public transport, nightclubs and playgrounds (Dixon et al., 2008).

Sometimes the spatial implications are explicit, as in the case of identities defined by reference to place. Sometimes they are more subtle. For instance, Dixon, Reicher, and Foster (1997) have shown that, in post-Apartheid South Africa, terms such as "unsightly" black settlements and "pristine" white areas are used to exclude. Hence racism is reproduced without overt reference to "race," and spatial segregation is maintained without overt reference to space.

Yet, even where an identity (e.g. a national identity), is defined in terms of place this doesn't necessarily mean that its effects upon spatial behaviour will be straightforward. Indeed it is clearly simplistic to suggest that people will never accept migrants or always be reluctant to move abroad. What may be more important is the social sense of foreignness which derives from the specific meanings associated with identities and places.

Talk about geographical spaces helps to flesh out how social identities affect where we allow others to be, where we ourselves want to be and how 'fitting in' in the sense of sharing norms and values is substantiated (Reicher, Hopkins & Harrison, 2006). Reicher and colleagues argue that constructions of social identities thus impact both upon our belief that we will be accepted by others and also upon our ability to be ourselves and maintain our identities.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has provided an overview of the major themes emerging in public talk around multiculturalism, both in London and New York. Representations bore on ideas around differences as something one is either passively or actively exposed to in the public sphere. Differences were further discussed as markers of personal as well as historical change. Furthermore, talk on similarity pertained to a cultural and a natural determinism. In addition, the chapter highlights participants' representations of food, which substantiated prevalent themes pertaining to multiculturalism, such as difference and similarity. Food gave those themes a manifest 'object' through which participants' experiences could be concretized. Finally, participants' associations in relation to geographical spaces were outlined.

All representations of multiculturalism signified a proximity to the phenomenon in question, either through passive or active exposure to it, the geographical delineation of it or the personal experience of it, often via material substances such as food. Supporting the idea that proximity to multiculturalism makes for positive associations to it are findings that greater exposure to targets can significantly enhance liking of those targets (e.g. Zajonc, 1968) and this 'mere exposure' effect generalizes to greater liking of other related but previously unknown social targets (Rhodes, Halberstadt, & Brajkovich, 2001, Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011). Work on the relationship between exposure and liking indicates that uncertainty reduction is an important mechanism underlying the phenomenon. Issues of exposure were most frequently raised via food and

geographical spaces, while uncertainty was raised in content-based representations around safety and security.

CHAPTER 7

THREAT AND PLEASURE ANCHORS FOR MULTICULUTRALISM

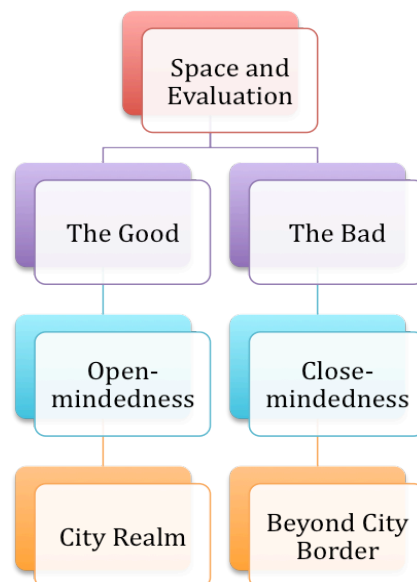
The last chapter outlined four of the most prevalent themes related to public engagement with multiculturalism in both London and New York, together with their associative content and interpretation. This chapter is interpretative in nature and flows from the above. It firstly shows how the public evaluates multiculturalism in the light of its pleasurable and threatening elements that can be found within the themes of the last chapter. Secondly, it delineates where and how the evaluated content of multiculturalism is symbolically anchored. The third section of this chapter is concerned with the emotional underpinnings and fantasies in participants' talk with regard to multiculturalism. Each subsection is headed by an association graph followed by its associated content.

7.1 Localizing Pleasurable and Threatening Elements of Multiculturalism

"If you see like in the United States, people from New York they live like in a totally different way than like people who live in like Kentucky for example (...) like we are like so open-minded over here and over there they are like so conservative, the people" (New York, Male, FN, Broadsheet, 37).

"The world is open because now the borders are practically, you can travel all over the world (...) so everybody can be exposed to different cultures so there is this really openness of the world. But I think at the same time I think everybody is also a little bit closing their borders because of fears, because of jobs, because of terrorism, because of all those things, so I think it's a really weird time" (New York, Female, DN, Broadsheet, 36)

Figure 17: Theme 5: Localization of Good and Bad Elements of Multiculturalism



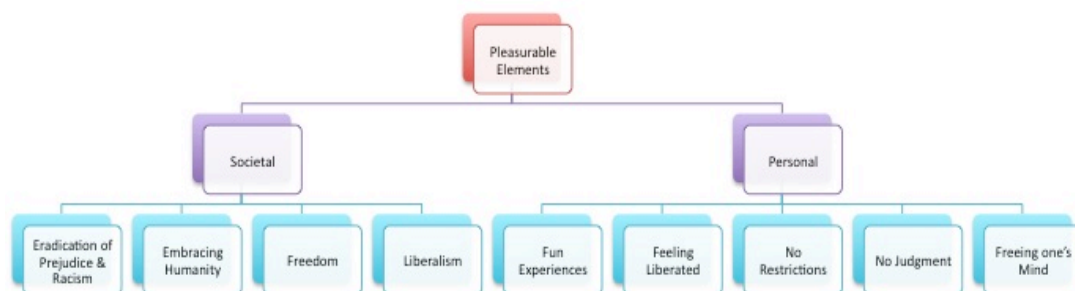
Participants described good and bad elements pertaining to multiculturalism. The majority of participants located multiculturalism in a particular space (the city), which was positively evaluated and juxtaposed to a negatively evaluated

space beyond its reach. The evaluation of multiculturalism took place amidst two poles: the open-minded progressive city and the closed-minded backward realm outside the city's borders.

7.1.1 Pleasurable Elements of Multiculturalism

"Multiculturalism is a very positive thing because it eradicates the prejudice uh-m non-tolerance, hatred, all the negative things, there's still a lot of it in the world and in this country regardless of multiculturalism, but I think the more people get to know each other these variables will fall, you know, the distrust, the looking down at someone just because they're different, so it is a very positive thing that we are moving towards" (London, Female, FN, Broadsheet, 34)

Figure 18: Theme 5:– Subtheme 1: The Pleasurable Elements of Multiculturalism



Participants frequently talked about the 'good' elements that pertained to multiculturalism. Good elements could relate to the general positive effects multiculturalism has on society, or on personal experiences. On a societal

level, multiculturalism lead to the eradication of prejudice, intolerance, and hatred (see quote above). On a personal level, multiculturalism added to the possibility of encountering pleasurable experiences:

"[Multiculturalism] it's a basic human thing isn't it, it's nice to meet people from other cultures, it's interesting and spices things up when they mix, uh-m, I went to a party last night actually and there were people from all kind of culture and its quite unusual to get them all together in one spot, it was great fun, quite unexpected conversation (...) then the shops with the different food and the different codes of conduct when you interact with them and the way you find to connect with them anyway and it's fun" (London, Male, BN, Broadsheet, 27)

Furthermore, pleasurable experiences included going out to eat food at culturally different eateries, or exploring different neighbourhoods.

Moreover, multiculturalism has been associated with embracing humanity, having freedom (not being frowned upon), feelings of liberation and there being no restrictions. Furthermore, mentioned characteristics that support living in a multicultural environment were liberalism, being interested, inquisitive in nature, outgoing, and non-judgemental. Moreover, in order to enjoy multiculturalism, one needed not be afraid and ought to be ready to learn and to explore. A consequence of mixing with others was the possibility of freeing up one's mind, and therefore being able to see and change, and appreciate oneself and others more.

"Mixing more widens your horizons, yeah basically it makes you a more tolerant person, makes you more open and appreciative as well, of your own, your own life and others as well" (London, Male, DN, Tabloid, 38)

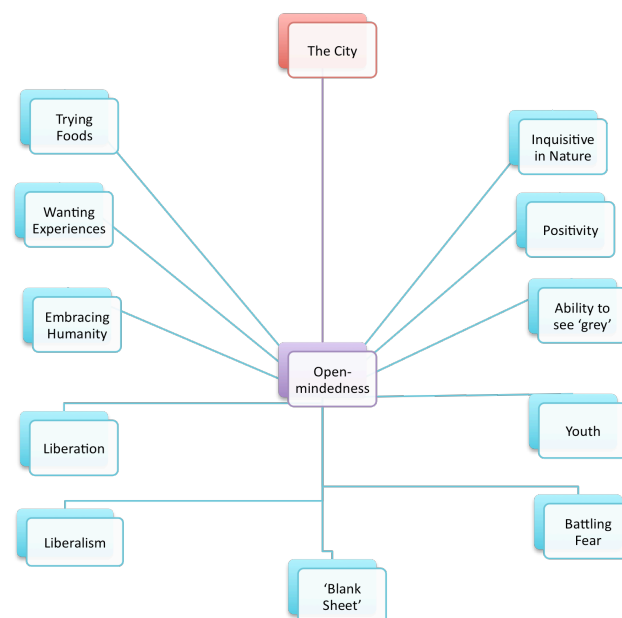
The elements of multiculturalism that participants considered to be pleasurable were the same elements that constitute what was perceived as

open-mindedness in the city. The following section will deal with the localization of open-mindedness within the city realm.

7.1.2 Placing Respect, Open-mindedness and Progress in the City Realm

"[Multiculturalism] it's more than one culture and it promotes, the term itself promotes an understanding of different people and kind of links into the whole 'celebrating diversity'" (London, Female, MB, Broadsheet, 24).

Figure 19: Theme 5:– Subtheme 2: Localization of The Good in the City



Participants related the positive components of multiculturalism to open-mindedness. Noteworthy is the fact that the participants associated open-mindedness with the city realm. In addition, open-mindedness and

multiculturalism defined each other: “...*multiculturalism means [an] open mind*” (New York, Female, FN, Tabloid, 37).

Locating open-mindedness and multiculturalism within the city realm was prevalent throughout both samples. By being multicultural cities, London and New York symbolised a breeding ground for open-mindedness:

“I see [London] as a place with people from most countries from all over the world, more than any other place. I mean really I have met people from all sorts of continents and places and countries and it is a very open city, very multicultural, very embracing, uh-m it defines itself as a multicultural city, it prides itself as such uh-m it thrives on it and uh-m I don’t think there is any place like this in the world, everybody seems to more or less get on with each other and uh-m to some extent join in, celebrate each other’s positive things” (London, Female, FN, Broadsheet, 34).

“I think New Yorkers are also more probably global, er, than some other parts of America as well, so we’re a little more tuned in and willing to maybe have freer opinions or a little more maybe open-minded (...) more open-minded, certainly!” (New York, Male, USw, Broadsheet, 33).

Hosting people from all over the world made the cities more global and open-minded. Furthermore, the city was represented as holding characteristics that define open-mindedness, such as youth and progressive thinking.

“Multiculturalism that represents being open-minded and young and like progressive thinking and liberal, and that is very important to me, and London totally represents that” (London, Male, BN, Broadsheet, 26)

In addition, open-mindedness could overcome racial, religious and national divisions. Willingness to travel was one aspect of being open-minded and, as the cities were inhabited by people from all over the world they, by definition, become populated by ‘travellers’. For example, in the New York sample, open-mindedness was symbolised by ‘having a passport’ as indicative of the willingness to travel. Open-mindedness was partly attributed to having had

educated parents. Finally, open-mindedness was associated with the ability to change one's perspective, as someone with the ability to see grey areas can. Multiculturalism was regarded as fertile ground for obtaining this ability.

Paradoxically, while open-mindedness was generally represented as increasing with exposure to cultural, religious or racial differences, for some participants it meant being naïve and a 'blank sheet' when entering into situations or meeting new people.

"Usually people are open-minded because they just don't know any better, that's what I think anyway. Because (...) the more you learn about stuff about something you're not used to the more, I think, you go against it (...) So if you go into something not knowing as much I think it's a little bit easier to be open-minded about it. I think that's the best way. I mean I think that's what open-minded is, is just to be a blank sheet and just try to learn what's going on (...) [what] multicultural stuff (...) done for me now is help me to, you know, not assume the worst of people or try to, um, put a culture in a certain spot or make assumptions about a certain culture or things like that" (New York, Male, USw, Tabloid, 39)

Finally, participants related open-mindedness to social issues, such as the coming together of different religions. The city was presented as the place where such interactions take place. Thus, at an institutional level, the city represented open-mindedness:

"One church here in New York (...) called Unity (...) it is the integration of different religions. It's not, it's not denominated religion, it's people from the Christianity as well as people from the Buddhist orientation and people that are from also Mohammed and then all of them combined, the religions (...) of course I assume that whoever goes to that particular service is not closed-minded himself in order to go out of, yeah, out of the mosque or out of the temple or out of the regular church for Christians, you have to have a little bit of an open mind already, otherwise you are keeping your particular religious building, whatever it is" (New York, Female, FN, Tabloid, 37).

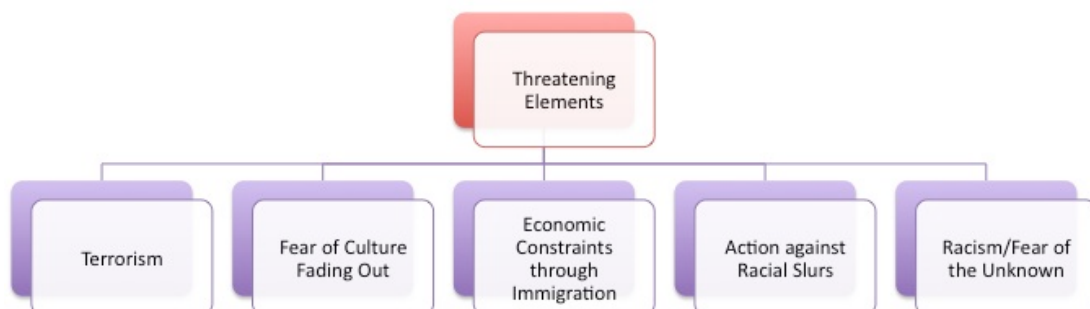
In sum, multiculturalism was to a large extent a feature of the city (London/New York), which in turn was strongly associated with open-

mindedness. Causes for open-mindedness included the exposure to diversity and an educated parenting style. Through exposure, open-mindedness could overcome racial, ethnic, national and religious divisions. In addition, the city has institutionalised such open-mindedness (for example through events or churches). The city was represented as a container for multiculturalism. Multiculturalism in turn epitomised the meaning of open-mindedness.

7.1.3 Threatening Elements of Multiculturalism

“Brixton just represents [all that is] different from what he knows and I remember going there the first time, being a bit scared (...) it is quite grimy and dangerous like at night time, like it is quite intimidating (...) it is what you don’t know, its fear of what you don’t know” (London, Male, BN, Broadsheet, 26)

Figure 20: Theme 5:– Subtheme 3: The Threatening Elements of Multiculturalism



Participants frequently contrasted negative elements to the pleasurable ones pertaining to multiculturalism. The most prevalently mentioned threats posed by multiculturalism were terrorism, fear of majority culture fading out,

economic constraints due to immigration, and society's official action against racism.

"This is my home, like don't mess with my home! Like even the bomber, you know, recently, that was right around the corner from my house, you know, so, I wasn't here but like oh my God, like I walk through that area every day to go to work, oh my God, what if I was cutting through there when..."(New York, Female, USw, Broadsheet, 28)

Threats associated with terrorism frequently prompted threats to one's safety.

In addition, threats relating to racist fears of the majority culture fading out were mentioned:

"The whole racism issues and how certain situations escalate and people are violent and murder people, or rape people or mug or cause harm to other people because they strongly believe perhaps a Bangladeshi person shouldn't be living in Britain, it should just be white British people, so the whole racism issue" (London, Female, BN, Broadsheet, 31)

Racist violence was associated with the fear of a particular culture fading out.

Furthermore, threats could pertain to economic factors:

"Immigrants, they come in to get jobs for very cheap, really little money, but then it leaves us without jobs, the people that live in the country" (London, Male, BN, Tabloid, 27)

In addition to economic threats of immigrants taking jobs away, multiculturalism has fostered a society where racial slurs are not acceptable.

People needed to be able to exercise self-control, as they are threatened with disciplinary action for racial slurs in the workplace:

"I think we've become a lot stricter so that if somebody say makes a racist joke or comment uh-m and there will be a disciplinary action and that's great because you can't, you will have people from different colours in a workplace and so you have to be able to govern that and if somebody does say something that offends somebody else they should be disciplined" (London, Female, BN, Broadsheet, 31)

However, contexts - such as ones of anger – could precipitate racial slurs, showing how readily available they were:

“If you’re angry with someone you can become like that, oh fuck off you ‘Nigger’, or Pakistani or ‘Paki’ or something, and they can call me white trash or something. If you’re having an argument it could come up” (London, Male, BN, Tabloid, 34).

During an argument racial slurs could easily surface. In addition, in other parts of the country multiculturalism could lead to conflict:

“In other parts of the country multiculturalism is a bit of an issue and there seems to be more of a conflict between different cultures” (London, Male, MB, Broadsheet, 33)

Threats and conflicts were associated with racial tension, racism, intolerance, prejudice, and hatred. Racism was defined by participants as ‘small-minded fear’ or ‘fear of the unknown’:

“Because if they’ve got their mind made up, you’re not going to change their mind (...) there could be many factors that have caused that racism, usually there is just fear, fear of the unknown. But it’s up to them to change their mind, I mean obviously it’s about education” (London, Male, BN, Tabloid, 34)

Participants elaborated on the components that could lead to racism and other negative attitudes. They included being afraid of change, being restrictive and inflexible, inward-looking, ignorant, and stringent. To a lesser degree, participants discussed feelings of getting trapped, being complacent, regimented (for example by religious belief) and very comfortable in one’s routine. These characteristics have negative consequences for harmony in multicultural environments. Furthermore, these characteristics were associated with not giving oneself a chance to learn, and not challenging oneself.

However, some participant's attributed the cause of racism, or other negative attitudes, to contextual factors that lay outside the person's control, e.g. ways of being brought up, or little exposure to differences in the environment.

Threatening elements growing out of multiculturalism and the characteristics that pertain to them, denied the possibility of having new experiences and facing challenges. Prejudice has been described as assuming negative things about other cultures:

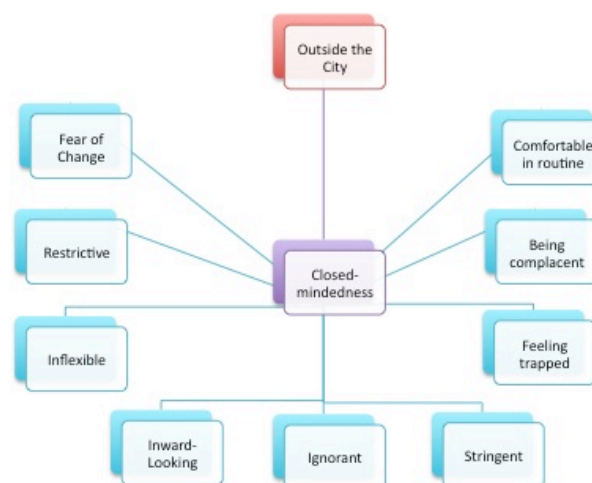
"[The thing] about multiculture and closed-minded people is that you understand that most of the time they're prejudiced towards multiculture, they just don't know any better (...) [but] they think they do know about the cultures and they assume the worst, because it's different and, that's where the prejudice comes from, they don't understand but they think they do, or they think that they know" (New York, Male, USw, Tabloid, 39)

Negative attitudes, such as prejudice, hinder acceptance of differences and therefore hinder the existence of multiculturalism. In contrast to the open-mindedness experienced in and through positive elements pertaining to multiculturalism, negative or threatening elements were associated with closed-mindedness. Thus, threatening elements associated with multiculturalism were the same elements that constitute what was perceived as closed-mindedness. The following section will deal with the localization of closed-mindedness outside the city's borders.

7.1.4 Placing Intolerance, closed-mindedness and backwardness beyond the city's borders

"If you go to like middle America, places like in the mid-West, um, even places down south, um, that I, I haven't been to but from what I hear and from what I gather, like, you would think you were in somewhere, you might think you were in another country (...) some of these people, their way of life, their way of thinking, I mean (...) we had the civil rights movement maybe like 60 years ago in this country, you can go places where they still really don't acknowledge it, you know, small really backwards places" (New York, Male, USw, Broadsheet, 31).

Figure 21: Theme 5:– Subtheme 4: Localization of the Bad outside the City



In opposition to talk around the open-minded space of the multicultural city, lay talk around the closed-minded space beyond the city's borders. More than half of the participants talked about closed-mindedness as being something backward.

Finally, most participants associated closed-mindedness with places outside the city's boundaries. Even though some participants emphasised the

tensions that exist within the city, the vast majority identified these negative attributes as belonging to 'the rest of the country', places that are small, Republican/right wing, where one is 'pigeon-holed' and sheltered.

Participants positioned themselves at a distance from these 'small', negatively charged places, as illustrated by the following abstract:

"I just stopped spending so much time with my friends from back home, because in comparison to my new friends that I met at university they're just so closed-minded, so gradually I just stopped spending time with them (...) I just started to notice things more (...) made me think about how, how small people's lives, I don't want to sound horrible or snobbish or anything, but just about how ignorant people can be. I never really thought about that when I lived at home, because it was just sort of normal live for me" (London, Female, BN, Broadsheet, 24).

In sum, multiculturalism was associated with the opposite of closed-mindedness, which pertained to not being willing to learn and to face challenges. While open-mindedness meant looking out into the world of diversity, closed-mindedness related to looking inward and remaining sheltered. The notion of 'shelter' was linked to places beyond the city realm, which became the container for associations around closed-mindedness. Closed-mindedness was associated with the lack of exposure, ignorant ways of being brought up, or government strategies. In addition, closed-mindedness related to an unwillingness to learn, fear of change, and therefore a hindrance to new experiences. The existence of multiculturalism was obstructed by the lack of acceptance of differences. Therefore, closed-mindedness was defined as the antithesis of multiculturalism.

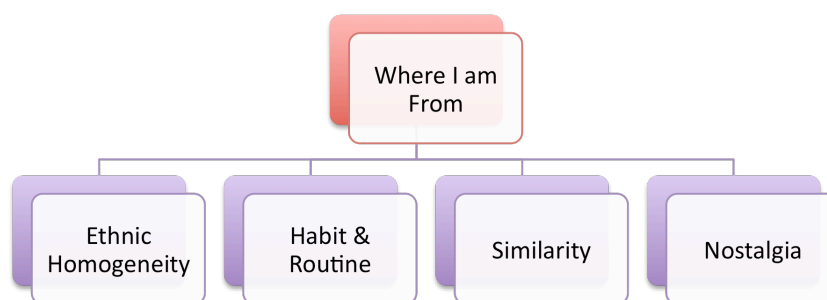
7.2 Identity Work Associated with Multiculturalism

The previous section drew attention to the ways in which multiculturalism was evaluated as being good/pleasurable and bad/threatening, and how good elements were associated with open-mindedness, which in turn became associated with the city. In juxtaposition, bad elements related to closed-mindedness were associated with places beyond the city's borders. The following section is concerned with the ways in which this distinction between good and bad was constructed as relevant for people's identities. This section is subdivided into two subthemes. The first subtheme deals with participant's accounts of where they were from. The second subtheme reviews the personal benefits participants experienced by living in multicultural cities.

7.2.1 Multiculturalism and where I am from

"In a basic way, living in an area like South-East London like you get to, it's great for me (...) it's good, it's experience, it's different, it's, it's experiencing things, it's good, it's alive, it's healthy, it's good, it's not what I grew up knowing I suppose" (LS, Male, BN, Broadsheet, 26).

Figure 22: Theme 6: Where I am from



Nearly all participants compared their experience and exposure to multiculturalism with the places where they grew up. A general strand of association pertained to the disparity between these places. The move from the homogeneous, closed-minded places outside the city, to the open-minded multicultural place, suggests the relevance of this distinction in relation to people's understanding of who they are:

"I was very narrow-minded and, um, you know, (...) I grew up in a very small town so I mean we, we were kind of, um, pigeon-holed into just learning and experiencing each other so when I moved here I, it was definitely a big change (...) a learning curve in the beginning (...) a stigma about moving to New York and, um, and I think that, you know, they tell you it won't be safe [but] it's just a wonderful kind of feeling and you, it's definitely a transition (...) and now I feel I'm so open-minded to anything, um, as opposed to being a sheltered, er, living a sheltered life" (New York, Female, USw, 28).

Interestingly, participants who grew up in the cities, affirmed their difference to 'small-town' people. Furthermore, talk by dominant 'white' nationals about origin was frequently prompted by talk about the transition of moving into the city, and its contrast to the ethnic homogeneity experienced in their hometowns:

"I was brought up in a small village in (...) South-West England (...) everyone was white, most people went to church with a Christian belief, uh-m most of my friends were put through the same schooling so we were all quite similar people whereas coming to London wasn't just white people doing the same thing in a village" (London, Female, BN, Broadsheet, 31).

The same engagement took place amongst US white participants:

"While in my home town in Tennessee everyone was basically, you know, from somewhere in Tennessee (...) like growing up, I grew up 10 minutes from Jack Daniels, 10 minutes from the walking horses (...) everyone had a, basically a similar kind of idea for their daily life (...) your daily thing kind of builds the culture always because it becomes habitual, the habitual becomes traditional, the traditional becomes culture, you know and (...) the thing about leaving a place, especially the place you grew up with you realise not everyone thinks like (...) or everyone talks like that, you think that's how people naturally are, you think that's who, what a human is or like, you know, that's a natural thought or something " (New York, Female, USw, Broadsheet, 24).

Distinctive of participant's descriptions of the everyday life outside the multicultural city, was the notion of 'routine' or the 'habitual'. Multiculturalism was associated with a chance to evade the habitual elements of one's culture.

"It became the habit of getting the bus to work every morning and you buy the same for lunch time at exactly the same place and browse exactly the same bookshop for about the same amount of time going back to work, going home and on Friday night you meet the same group of friends in exactly the same pub and take up the same one or two restaurants for a meal, that's it (...) in my family it was the same pub where people celebrated anything. So therefore a celebration would lose most of its edge because it was mundane, this is what we do to mark any occasion (...) that was part of a culture itself. Maybe that's it,

maybe that's what multiculturalism is - it's the evasion of your own culture (laughs)" (London, Male, BN, Broadsheet, 24).

Furthermore, smaller cities were associated with making difference more noticeable:

"I feel like in smaller cities you tend to, um, I don't know, you tend to notice a lot more like a different race or a different culture because you get so used to kind of seeing the same people that as soon as you see someone different it's like just obvious to you" (New York, Female, USw, Tabloid, 26).

The homogeneity and recognisability of difference was why *"...in Tennessee you basically have a good idea of who's, you know, in your community"* (New York, Female, USw, Broadsheet, 24). 'Ideas of who is who' related to ideas of familiarity and comfort (see below).

Talk in relation to one's origin amongst white nationals in both countries pertained mainly to a comparative dimension between the multicultural city and the homogeneous place of origin. Comparative talk about origin in relation to the city was also found in foreign national participants with regard to the national, rather than the rural, dimension:

"Where I come from is Cambodia and you wouldn't see like this. It's like Cambodians everywhere (...) you wouldn't see like Church anywhere or Muslim mosque everywhere (...) but here I saw a lot of different people here" (London, Male, FN, Broadsheet, 29).

Interestingly, while participant's who grew up in London/New York did not talk of homogeneity, they frequently talked about growing up experiencing similarity:

"All of my pals they have been brought up, we're all the same more or less. Yes I mean, regardless of what they're originating culture is, the kind of end product, if you want to call it that, they all kind of the same" (London, Male, DN, Tabloid, 32).

Despite talk about the negative aspects pertaining to places outside the city, they were also charged with a sense of nostalgia.

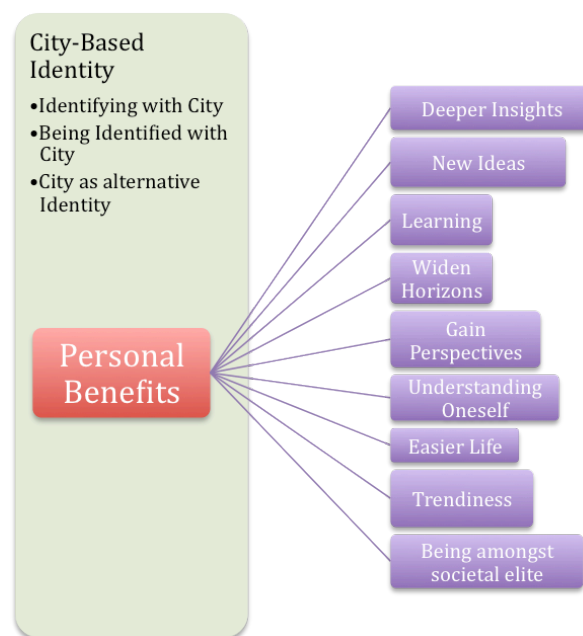
"It's just like, it's just you're so comfortable with it and to be part of that is just really, it gives you identity, you were so exposed to it and especially after you grow up you realise the wonderful nuances, the culture and like, you know, like Jack Daniels and like we would always go watch the Volunteers, you know, and everyone loves the university football team. And my mum will be like oh that Miss Nancy- she's meaner than a snakebiter (...) you know, like I mean just like these Southern nuances and, um, it's just I identify more each time I talk to my mum, you know (...) it's funny because you don't realise it when you're there but then when you step out you're like oh, you know" (New York, Female, USw, Broadsheet, 24)

In sum, while participants who grew up outside the city's borders talked about their home places in terms of homogeneity and routine, and compared them to the diversity within the city, those participants who grew up in the city talked about similarity amongst the kids they grew up with, despite cultural, religious or ethnic differences. The relevance of the relationship between the urban and the non-urban space in participants' personal accounts affirmed the evaluation of multiculturalism. Despite a sense of nostalgia, the multicultural city was positively evaluated relative to places outside. People's contention of belonging to the multicultural city underpinned certain personal benefits that people took away from it. This is the focus of the next section.

7.2.2 Personal benefits of multiculturalism

"Multiculturalism means open mind because of that, when you are exposed to different things (...) different cultures you are more easy to adjust, you are easy to adapt. You know and you acknowledge you are a combination of different elements and you use that and of course you are more able, willing and ready to accept difference (New York, Female, FN, Tabloid, 37).

Figure 23: Theme 7: Personal Benefits of Multiculturalism



Participants identified the benefits that the city offered, such as opportunities, work, and existing cultural communities where the newly-arrived can find comfort. However, the city represented much more than that. Participants described benefits of living in a multicultural city. These included gaining deeper insights and deeper understanding through exposure to difference. Further benefits included having the ability to explore new things. In particular, the notion that people could be exposed to, and explore, new ideas was relevant for their identity. It opened their minds to respect and learning. Learning in turn meant feeling enlightened and educated. The mixing with

different people was described as widening one's horizon, and making one more tolerant. This, in turn, could make one more accepting and understanding. All these advantages of living in a multicultural city added to making the participants, 'a better person'.

"You become a better person by not being, not following the ignorance that people are showing (...) you're surrounded by all these different cultures, embrace it and learn from it (...) learn about life and love life (...) there are different people that you can learn something from" (New York, Male, DN, Tabloid, 26)

In addition to embracing and learning from different people one is surrounded by, being part of the multicultural city has been identified as being trendy, hip and stylish.

"I think New York changed me, you know, when I grew up upstate I wasn't as trendy and as hip and stylish but when you come here you realise that there is so many other people that maybe look this way and you kind of want to fit in and become a New Yorker (...) I think it's a rough city and I think there is a lot of pressures, social pressures, psychological pressures to adapt and to become a better you" (New York, Male, USw, Broadsheet, 26)

Being trendy and hip participants described their wish to 'fit in'. Furthermore, living in a multicultural city was also associated with being part of an elite:

"You feel a little elitist at times because you come from New York, you've been exposed to this diversity, some place such as Georgia the diverse culture exposure is not as much there, so you have a sense of pride to have been in New York and to see the world come to you" (New York, Male, DN, Broadsheet, 28)

Seeing the 'world coming to you' gave participants a sense of pride and elitism. Additionally, it meant being close to the heart of society and the system:

"New York's a cultured place, it's an educated place, it's a place where, you know, even, I don't know, where I, I feel like you're very resourceful, you are very aware, you're directly affected by political decisions on a small level and on a large level so I think

that it entails a certain, I don't know, comprehension" (New York, Female, USw, Broadsheet, 26).

Being close to the heart of political decision made participants more aware and comprehending. Due to the advantages laid out thus far, some participants expressed their identity in terms of the city they live in:

"I was quite liberal minded and London is the place to be that and it just confirmed that this is correct. Having lived here for five years... that is something I feel very strongly about, like I totally feel like a Londoner. But because I think a lot of it is to do with multiculturalism that represents being open-minded and young and like progressive thinking and liberal, and that is very important to me, and London totally represents that" (London, Male, BN, Broadsheet, 26)

"I have grown personally in a huge way. I absolutely love the city and I see myself now as a very hard worker and I want to continue to succeed here [and] have a family here (...) years ago I was very shy and quiet" (New York, Female, USw, Tabloid, 28).

In the minority national groups, being part of the city was expressed in conjunction with ethnic categories and in passive form: *"I don't want to lose my own identity, which is important to me and essentially I'm a black Londoner. You know. That'll be my perception, it's nothing I can do, that's how I am, that's what it sounds like, a Londoner"* (London, Male, MB, Broadsheet, 33). In general, participants strongly identified with the elements the city represented to them.

In turn, the city was described as having an influence on creating social forms of belonging. The mother of mixed race children in New York discussed the racial identifications of her children in terms of the neighbourhood structure:

"[My children] they're like I'm Spanish, I'm white and Spanish (...) I tell them when they were little I was like ok you can be white now, I said, but when you grow up you're probably going to want to be more, you're probably going to want to be Puerto Rican, either or, they're either going to want to be white and not

Puerto Rican, like I can imagine living in Staten Island they'd want to be white!" (New York, Female, USw, Tabloid, 30).

While the city and its neighbourhood exercised some influence over ways participants identified themselves (and were identified), it also offered an identity to those who could not otherwise clearly identify themselves.

"I never felt particularly Pakistani, but then again I never felt particularly English either. I kind of actually say to people I feel like a Londoner. London (...) the way people carry themselves, the way they speak that kind of stuff it's kind of wherever you come from it's got something about it that indicates who you are and you take with you the kind of person you've become I think in a lot of ways" (London, Male, MB, Broadsheet, 34).

In sum, multiculturalism offered a range of identity-generating benefits to those that live within it. These included the development of the person (i.e. knowledge and understanding) as well as benefits for a person's representations to the outside world (e.g. being trendy). Being part of a multicultural city was said to help foster an identity that is based on open-mindedness. Furthermore, by living in the city, people could shield themselves from elements that are not desired for identity (e.g. ignorance), by localizing them outside the city's borders, and therefore outside themselves.

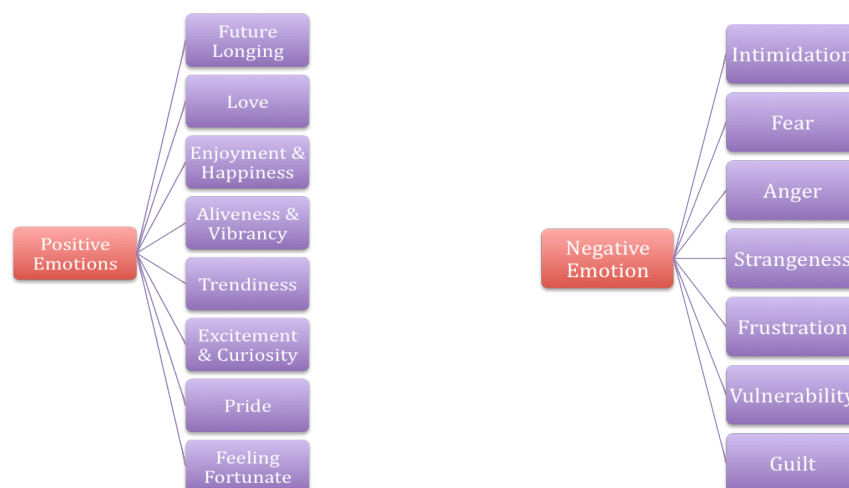
7.3 Emotive Work and Fantasy in Multiculturalism

The first and second parts of this chapter dealt with people's evaluation of multiculturalism, and identity work related to it. This section will focus on the imaginary and emotive underpinnings in relation to the evaluation of multiculturalism. The following subthemes will be considered. Firstly, a brief overview of the general emotive content is given. Secondly, comfort as an emotional anchor is outlined more specifically. Thirdly, the participants' imagination with regard to far away places, and fantasies around the 'Veil' are sketched. Finally, participants' engagement with multiculturalism pertaining to an imagined future vision, globally and personally, is outlined.

7.3.1 Emotive underpinnings in representations of multiculturalism

"I feel terrible when I see African, West-Indian guys coming here and they bloody cleaning the streets (...) for a lot of them they've got bloody doctorates and they can't get themselves on the work in hospitals or whatever it is, or lawyers or something you know what I mean and having to bloody clean the streets and things. And I think people look at them and think 'Oh well they should be grateful they've got shelter' and stuff like that 'They're bloody living in a hut in Africa' or something" (London, Male, MB, Broadsheet, 34)

Figure 24: Theme 8: Positive and Negative Emotive Underpinnings of Multiculturalism



Well over two-thirds of the participants referred to multiculturalism as something positive. Amongst the most prevalent positive associations with multiculturalism were feelings of progressiveness and a longing for an ideal future. Furthermore, the participants' love for certain aspects of multiculturalism were frequently expressed, in particular with regard to food. Moreover, multicultural experiences were associated with enjoyment and happiness. Further feelings associated with such experiences often included good feelings, fun, aliveness, trendiness and liberation or freedom. Less frequently, but often in conjunction with the positive feelings attached to experiencing different cultures, was the arousal of excitement and curiosity.

Occasionally, participants expressed feelings of being fortunate about being able to learn from and experience multiculturalism. Another prevalent emotion was pride. Pride related to various different ideas, for example pride at being a New Yorker or a Londoner.

In addition to the positive emotional underpinning, associations of around two-thirds of the participants pertained to negative emotional underpinnings. Amongst the most prevalent negative feelings were threat and intimidation, feelings of being 'on guard' and fear.

"Down this street quite late at night there's often outside the Congolese restaurant (...) the restaurant is tiny (...) so all the Congolese guys are hanging out at the bottom of the street and when someone comes to stay with me who is not from London and has found the way back they've said to me they found that actually quite intimidating, walking through a big group of men talking a language they've never heard before. And these guys shout, I think it's a cultural thing and to the untrained ear it sounds like they're having a massive argument and you're walking through (...) you know if you look at their faces they're all laughing and smiling and relaxed, but (...) you might not even look at the faces like 'oh god quickly walk though' [but] if I am coming home late at night and all those men are there I actually feel safe, because I know (...) there are people at the bottom of the street I feel a lot safer because I know if something happened to me, if someone mugged me or something all these guys are probably hopefully to come and save me" (London, Female, BN, Broadsheet, 30).

Less frequently, participants talked about their upset or anger, often in association with negative experiences, such as racial slurs. In particular, minority, foreign and dual nationals talked about upsetting experiences:

"For example, what happened like when the plane (...) you remember the plane that landed on Hudson River last year (yeah), so that plane, they put like a caricature, like a drawing in the newspaper, it was like a bird going into the, the engine, they were saying like Allah Akbar, Allah Akbar, so which is like I was very upset when I see that kind of caricature, you know" (New York, Male, FN, Tabloid, 27).

Such experiences were sometimes accompanied with descriptions of feeling like being a stranger or an outsider. Feelings of being a stranger were most often experienced when removed from one's own cultural context (either through travel or migration). Furthermore, feelings of frustration were mentioned, for example, when communication fails (language barriers).

Participants occasionally described feeling vulnerable or insecure. This was mostly in combination with talk about Muslims, terrorism or specific (minority group) neighbourhoods (usually at night time). Additionally, bad feelings or feelings of guilt could be evoked when one immerses oneself in culturally different customs. A foreign national Muslim, who worked for a pork-serving Chinese restaurant, described this:

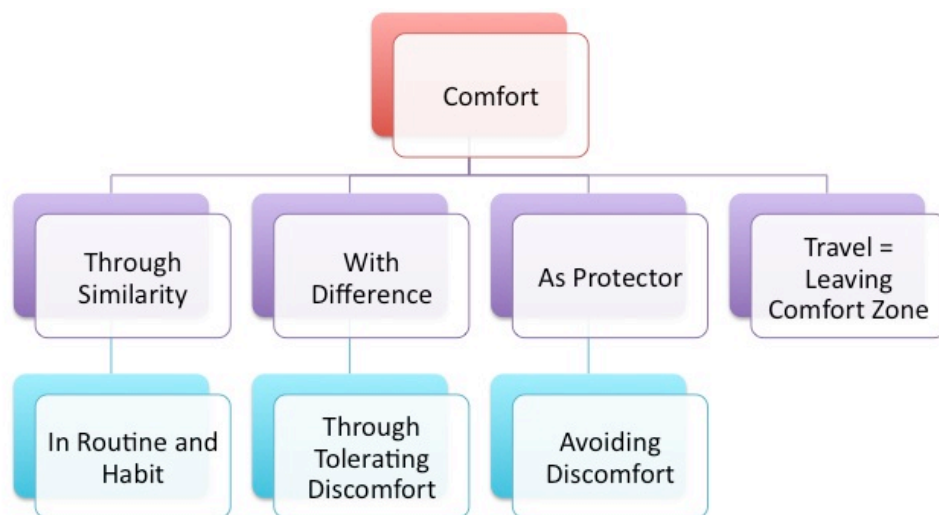
"I used to work for Chinese people. They had pork so I was looking for a chance to leave, you know, the job, they paid me well but I didn't care about money because I didn't feel good about myself" (New York, Male, FN, Tabloid, 27)

In sum, several positive and negative emotive underpinnings related to people's engagement with multiculturalism. Positive and negative emotional underpinnings influenced people's evaluation of multiculturalism. While the positive notions were constructive in terms of the creation of identity, negative notions distanced participants from the identity-destructive elements of multiculturalism. However, in their engagement with multiculturalism, people often discussed both positive and negative elements together.

7.3.2 Comfort – the emotional anchor

"[Multiculturalism is] the willingness to tolerate something that may initially make you feel uncomfortable because someone else's culture is different and ... you can react in either one of two ways. You can either embrace it or you can, you can reject it" (New York, Male, DN, Broadsheet, 28)

Figure 25: Theme 9: Comfort as Emotional Anchor



Multiculturalism was closely associated with feelings of comfort. Highly prevalent throughout the samples were ideas around similarities and differences underscored by comfort. On the basis of the interrelationship between similarity and difference, comfort was woven into the story of multiculturalism, highlighting the paradox of wanting to interact with different cultures and seeking the familiarity of the similar.

"On the one hand, you feel most comfortable with the people that are from your culture, but at the same time, you know, you are here because you want to interact with lots of other cultures and society as a whole. So, I think there is a bit of a discord between those two" (London, Female, DN, Broadsheet, 25)

Participants frequently conjectured that the natural human thing to do is to mix with those that are similar, because they are familiar, which in turn leads to

feeling comfortable. Comfort also related to trust, and similar people are described as being more trusted. However, the understanding and awareness of other people could lead to feeling more comfortable with 'different' people.

"It starts with knowing that there are differences and that some of those differences are visible and some are invisible and (...) it's just having that understanding and awareness and then that hopefully leads to people being a bit more able, feeling a bit more comfortable in kind of dealing with that" (London, Male, BN, Broadsheet, 33)

In addition, comfort related to similarity and similarity, in turn, was linked to habit and routine, and people were generally *"very comfortable in their routine"* (London, Male, BN, Tabloid, 23).

"I think people find it easy to get into kind of habits and routines and that's what this city makes it kind of very easy for you to not follow a routine because it's not, you don't have to be overly adventurous to be relatively adventurous" (London, Male, BN, Broadsheet, 24)

The personal need to work on overcoming the urge to gravitate to comfortable similarity was reflected in ideas of having to be able to tolerate the uncomfortable.

"Tolerance and understanding, this goes back to seeing people who were not exposed to, you know, multicultural backgrounds or are very closed-minded about their views of multiculturalism. And their lack of understanding leads to a lack of tolerance and I think that's important to multiculturalism because you can't embrace multiculturalism without having a sense of understanding, willing to understand the other side. The willingness to tolerate something that may initially make you feel uncomfortable" (New York, Male, DN, Broadsheet, 28)

Embracing multiculturalism meant tolerating something that initially felt uncomfortable. While participants constructed comfort as something that needs to be challenged and overcome, it was also talked about as something that protects. In the comfort of the familiar, prejudices could be easily maintained:

"Because we're humans, I would be very comfortable with my immediate family and I might not be with outsiders (...) you hate so many things about, oh I hate this about Asians, I hate this about Chinese, I hate this about people from Cameroon, I hate that, so you like raise your guard when you meet those people. Until you get to know them better" (London, Female, FN, Broadsheet, 34)

The hate against other cultures could raise one's guard. Some participants clearly avoided exposure to the unfamiliar, which could become manifest in behavioural terms in the ways that space was used:

"I don't deal with those areas anyway. Actually, when I grew up I had a lot of friends in Kingsbury and Kenton, so we were there all the time, but now, obviously everyone's moved away anyway, so you really, you know, so you just go to the areas like that you're familiar with and, you know, with your own people around" (London, Male, BN, Tabloid, 37).

Engagement with the notion of comfort and multiculturalism prompted a noteworthy difference amongst tabloid and broadsheet readers. The tabloid readership groups focused more on the emotional implications of the discomfort that they experienced:

"You can't be naive to danger because it's everywhere, you just have to be smart about it and don't go to certain neighbourhoods if you're not comfortable there or you're not familiar with it" (New York, Male, USw, Tabloid, 27)

In contrast, broadsheet readership groups frequently highlighted socio-political issues around the integration question in relation to people's comfort zones.

"Different neighbourhoods being completely defined by that particular culture (...) the sort of notion of the other and you know that kind of fear of going somewhere that is unknown it sort of, it, yeah, it renders a lot of places, not necessarily that you can't go there but it makes you feel less comfortable in them. It's fine walking around Chinatown, because it is part of London, it is part of Soho, but at the same time I wouldn't feel a 100% comfortable going into all the shops and everything purely because it is seen as being a specifically Chinese destination for Chinese people" (London, Female, DN, Broadsheet, 25)

The following participant described how comfort grows within familiar communities and from here people can reach out to other people. Through this process, minority communities could affirm their culture:

“What multiculturalism is, that people were confident enough to exist in their own within their own rules and communities and then are comfortable enough to allow other people in, rather than having to segregate or whatever something like the fact that the Neasden temple is as valid a tourist destination as St. Paul’s Cathedral or Westminster Abbey, because it is an impressive building” (London, Male, BN, Broadsheet. 24)

Communities became comfortable enough to reach out to tourists. Despite comfort as an aid to reaching out to others, a person’s comfort zone was described as something impenetrable.

“A really good friend of mine (...) she started making some really ignorant and racist comments about the, you know, ‘Pakis’ and you know how they sort of get everything for free and how they sort of just claiming benefits and just really these typical sort of ignorant comments (...) she just wasn’t willing to change her views because that’s how she’s been brought up and I think she just felt comfortable having these views (...) she said she just didn’t feel comfortable around Indian people and there wasn’t really a reason for it, she just didn’t like them (...) when someone says that, it’s, you can’t really have like a proper argument with them” (London, Female, BN, Broadsheet, 24)

The issue of comfort was particularly relevant in minorities’ engagement with multiculturalism. Minorities frequently discussed their feelings when predominantly surrounded by majorities in terms of the comfort they experience in such a situation:

“It’s odd but like there’s a typical reaction, like when you’re familiar with their culture, like I, I’m comfortable with them, I don’t have to, I don’t feel like I’m an outsider, if you will. And so I’m really, even though I’m American and all that stuff, like I don’t feel like I’m an outsider (...) I’m comfortable with them but I, like I’m just like wow, I’m the only non-white person here (...) everyone’s in one room and then you realise it like just for a split second. I think when you’re a minority of anything you realise it (...) yes when I’m a minority at something I always realise it” (New York, Male, USm, Broadsheet, 23)

The realization of one's minority status did not need to impede feelings of comfort around majorities. Furthermore, minority nationals' talk concerning comfort included the seeing oneself through the eyes of the other:

"Like my Italian boss, (...) he makes me feel very comfortable but I know for a fact that he would not want his daughter to go out with a black boy. Like she's coming into like teenage years and stuff and she's liking all these rappers (...) in conversation he's like I don't want to say the wrong thing, you know, to make you feel like I don't like you, but I do not want her to like what you like, you know, it's so weird (...) I find it funny that he doesn't want to say like, no she cannot go with a black boy, she should marry an Italian man and make Italian babies and let me be an Italian grandpa" (New York, Female, USm, Broadsheet, 29)

The Italian boss who dislikes his daughter dating black boys was assumed to behave in a certain way that made this participant feel uncomfortable. In addition, a Muslim foreign national described how he felt uncomfortable due to the public suspicion of Muslims:

"When the people look at Muslims here in America they look like oh they are terrorists, you know, they always try to be careful, you know, in dealing with Muslim people. That's the only thing that, you know, that, that is not, that I'm not like comfortable with" (New York, Male, FN, Tabloid, 27).

Further associations around comfort included the notion of 'home' as a place of comfort. Dual national's engagement with identity was centred on questions of comfort. More precisely, comfort played a role in determining one's identity:

"In terms of who I am (...) comes back to the idea of home, which is difficult. I guess technically I am a Londoner because I was born and raised here, but I am not English. I don't feel American and I don't feel German. I, I feel, I kind of identify somewhat with Canadians, but I am not Canadian by birth and I don't have a Canadian passport. So, yeah, it is difficult actually. I do, London feels most like my home, so I'm quite, I am comfortable being here, but there are aspects of London which I am not comfortable with in terms of my identity, and the way that the culture is" (London, Female, DN, Broadsheet, 25)

Frequently, minority, foreign and dual nationals said that they felt comfortable in the city on the basis of not standing out by being different. In turn, white

nationals regularly constructed the city in their talk as a place initially outside their safe comfort zone.

"Anything that's safe. People don't tend to go out of their comfort zones. Uh-m, I mean, you know, I have pushed myself a few times to go out of my comfort zone, but it's really difficult. Moving to London was hard" (London, Female, BN, Broadsheet, 29)

The multicultural city confronted white participants with questioning their own ethnicity, culture, and religion. However, after living in London for some time, many participants talked of a process of 'normalization' where variety is no longer novel.

"I like it. 'Cause it is different. You are out of your comfort-zone, I mean I don't feel like I am, now I don't even notice, but when I first moved here, it was probably 'this is a bit odd, this is new being here' (...) like me and a couple of friends were the only white people in [the club] and it was quite, it was quite aggressive hip-hop, you know, like quite angry hip-hop (...) I think I felt intimidated" (London, Male, BN, Broadsheet, 26)

Such experiences were also found during travel. Through travel, participants described leaving their comfort zone and what it felt like to lose one's bearing.

"Travel is important in terms of getting a first-hand view of how other people live other than what you're used to in your comfort zone (...) you're taken out of your comfort zone completely and everything's different. Rules are different, the laws are different, people are different (...) in Canada or Toronto everyone makes eye contact there. And here you don't do that so when I went there for the first few times it was just a little, I felt something was wrong, why [is] everyone just staring at me" (New York, Male, USw, Tabloid, 27)

The sense of being out of one's comfort zone during travel was closely associated with feeling intimidated and afraid:

"It's intimidating because you panic, (...) you want to go somewhere and the taxi driver doesn't speak any English than what you going to do? Or you're just in a very unfamiliar surrounding so what are these people going to do to you? Are they going to kidnap you? I didn't trust anyone as soon as I got [to Mali] (...) a lot of people we were first confronted with at the airport were very, obviously poor young men, and you sort of hear horror stories of people being kidnapped in Mali, or raped or mugged or whatever it is, and you think of the worst-case

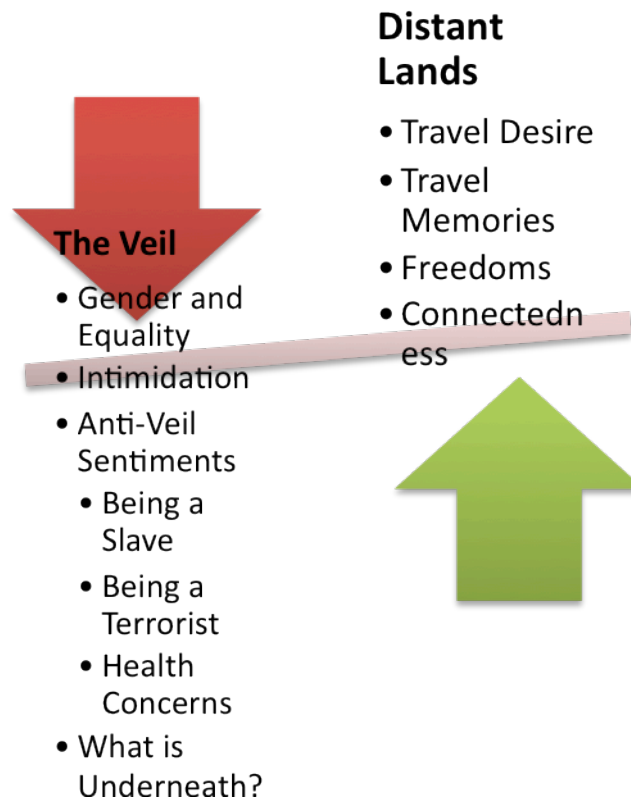
situation (..) and [you are] in the minority and also the realization that they may look at me thinking 'rich, west...' you know 'rich, British, white, female' uh-m 'I am going to steal her handbag cause she has definitely got money.' So it was yeah it's was a slightly uncomfortable situation (...) then you sort of acclimatize to the environment and realize that actually people are very nice and helpful (...) and you start to feel more comfortable" (London, Female, BN, Broadsheet, 31)

In sum, on the emotive level, comfort was a highly relevant construct in participants' engagement with multiculturalism. Ideas around similarity and difference were underscored by comfort. Various levels of talk involving comfort were outlined, including the relation of comfort to similarity and difference, comfort zone as a protector against feelings of discomfort and the role of comfort during travel experiences. Talk on comfort pertained to an image of the 'comfort zone', and people could be within or outside of it.

7.3.3 Fantasy work – distant lands and the ‘Veil’

*“It’s Muslims also with those things on their head. They wear like regular cloths sometimes but they always got to cover their head which I don’t, I don’t understand what the meaning of that is”
(New York, Female, USw, Tabloid, 40)*

Figure 26: Theme 10: Fantasy Work – Distant Lands and the Veil



Participants talked about the exposure to difference and the desire to learn (e.g. authentic culture; a new language, and so on) corroborated talk about fantasies and desires of distant lands on the part of three-quarters of all participants. The fantasies or memories about travelling to distant lands were closely associated with other positive notions underpinning multiculturalism and open-mindedness:

“It’s something new, yeah. You always need to be open to this, if there’s an opportunity to explore different culture and I mean, if, if I was to win lots of money I would, I would go around the world and it would be nice to, you know, there are different areas,

especially South America, where I would go and some parts of Asia that I am very attracted to culturally” (London, Male, DN, Tabloid, 38).

The images triggered by spontaneous talk around multiculturalism that related to distant lands indicated a positive dimension of fantasy and imagination around multiculturalism. While ‘distant land’ fantasies and memories were manifold, this thesis will not detail them further. On the other hand, a negative dimension of fantasy and imagination around multiculturalism pertained to participant’s talk with regard to female Muslim headwear. While talk on ‘distant lands’ evoked images and association of far away places, captured in travel memories or travel desires, it is noteworthy that talk (on the part of one-quarter of all participants) associated multiculturalism with the image of the ‘veil’. It is described as representing multiculturalism in the contemporary world.

“I think it’s like the image of the woman in the Burka, walking through London (...) I think that image represents multiculturalism to people now” (London, Male, BN, Broadsheet, 26)

Some participants raised questions about the ways their (western) country should handle gender relations with regard to the veil: *“Is that someone who is suppressed? (...) Then what you’re saying is, you have got a right to be suppressed in my country”* (London, Male, BN, Broadsheet, 26). Other issues regarding the women in headscarves included questions around domination and equality.

Furthermore, feelings of intimidation were described as being due to the difference the lady in the veil represented.

"It's a bit intimidating I, probably wouldn't, if we were in a university and she was one person dressed like that and five people who weren't I would be more inclined to talk to people I felt were a bit more similar to myself than that lady, because I would get a bit intimidated that she was different to me (...) that individual woman will have such different relationship to her husband or father than I do. Because obviously, my opinion was, she felt she needs to wear that, because there are strict ways of doing things in her culture and if she just wore an ordinary skirt and a low top than people would think she's a prostitute and that would be such a horrendous thing that she fully, fully dressed" (London, Female, BN, Broadsheet, 31)

In addition to feeling more inclined to people who are more similar to oneself than the veiled lady, participants imagined reasons why she wears it. While some participants questioned their feelings about the 'veil' and tried to understand the reasons behind wearing it, such as not looking like a 'prostitute', other participants took a much more radical position against it. Strong 'anti-veil' sentiments were more frequent within the Tabloid readership groups:

"I don't like the Muslims, when they have to cover their whole head (...) the burka or something. Yeah, that is just too much (...) it's like your man or whoever you're married to is suppose to be higher up or something and you're suppose to be lower down on the, like a slave or something (...) they wear like regular clothes sometimes, but they always got to cover their head which I don't understand what the meaning of that is" (New York, Female, USw, Tabloid, 40)

The 'burka' was represented as a symbol for the inferiority of a woman in the face of her husband. Other strong fantasies around the veil included the hidden woman as a terrorist.

"Sometimes when you see someone wearing a hijab you just think 'terrorist' (...) I'd be really, really scared when I was a kid and I saw that probably. Why, why is she not showing any of her body? What is going on? Guess a lot of people must get quite freaked out by it (...) it's just wrong I think, I don't agree with that" (London, Female, BN, Tabloid, 33)

Moreover, the same interviewee raised issues regarding health concerns that are caused by covering oneself up:

"I'm quite interested in science and stuff and (...) I get quite worried about women wearing the hijabs, because they don't get enough Vitamin D in their skin, which actually you need Vitamin D to absorb Calcium (...) and they get a lot of osteoporosis and seasonal affective disorders as well. And you just think God, you poor thing, why are you doing this? I think the whole hijab thing is horrible (...) [and] from a female point of view I think it's not fair. Just for health reasons if anything" (London, Female, BN, Tabloid, 33)

Associations around wearing the hijab included the idea that women were deprived of vital Vitamins to their skin. Further thought about the veil covered the notion that wearing it is not necessary, and the idea that a woman is forced to cover her beauty and only reveal it to her husband is pointless in a society where many women walk around uncovered.

"I thought that persons are crazy because it doesn't make sense to me, because obviously you grow up and you see your cousins, brothers or sisters (...) walking with their hair out, I see my friends walking with their hair out, so it never really made sense, I didn't think wearing a headscarf really does anything, I think it's pointless, I don't agree with it, but if they're entitled to wear it, I don't have a problem with them wearing it, but I don't think it's necessary" (London, Male, MB, Tabloid, 23)

Finally, some participants described their fantasy of what may be found underneath their dress.

"I'm fascinated by the woman that wears a hijab head to toe, I'm fascinated. I think it's alarming that we have to do that in this day and age (...) the reason I'm fascinated it because when they walk on the street I have to stop and look, because all you see of that woman is her eyes. You know, and I'm looking at her and I'm thinking, well you could put any old thing underneath all that and it don't matter. You could be like up in your drawers or something, you could just... as long as you got that thing on and you know got that thing up to here and you've got your arms covered and it goes all the way down, you could pack absolutely nothing under there and you'll be all good. I'm like damn (...) London, Female, DN, Tabloid, 39)

Fantasy of what lies beneath included nakedness. The same interviewee continued to explain how the veil disagrees with her essential identity characteristics expressed through fashion.

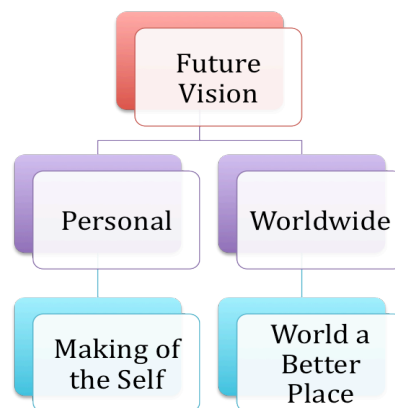
"(...) That's what makes me unique, my style of dress (...) I always have a hat on, the hat will match the rest of the outfit (...) shoes or the boots (...) that is my style, that is my originality, it is me. It doesn't necessarily define me, it accentuates who I am, now to take that away you lose the person I believe (...) the bubbly effervescent person, you're talking that away with her. So you're taking that whole thing away (...) and then what you gonna have is the shell of a person and because I cannot express myself through the colours and the moods that I create through my cloths" (London, Female, DN, Tabloid, 39)

In sum, a range of fantasies underpinning talk on multiculturalism have been identified. In particular, fantasies about distant lands were elicited via participant's travel desires or memories of travel experiences. This section paid particular attention to the fantasies underpinning the concrete image of the Muslim headscarf. Symbolization of multiculturalism in the image of the 'veil' were predominantly underpinned by negative notions. Associations surrounding the 'veil' prompted talk around gender relations, feelings of intimidation, and deep 'anti-veil' sentiments as well as relations to health concerns, terrorism and fantasies about the hidden - what is to be found underneath the 'veil'.

7.3.4 Visualising the future

“Real multiculturalism, it’s the goal, that’s just the way I feel the world can be, you know, in, 25, 50 years” (New York, Male, DN, Broadsheet, 28)

Figure 27: Theme 11: Future Visions



Talk about multiculturalism tended to be associated with a future-orientation, particularly to progressiveness and a future ideal at a personal and a worldwide level. While the personal dimension related to issues facing individuals in terms of becoming a better person and the pursuit of happiness, the worldwide dimension was associated with ideas of world peace and of a global humanity.

Future-orientation at the personal level was associated with the human being’s natural inclination to be closed off. Hence progression of the individual relies upon individual efforts. The ‘making of the self’ was associated with being open and learning to be tolerant:

“I think in the paradox of like openness and closed-ness (...) we all want to be open, I think that’s something that we have this awareness of trying to really be open, but in doing that process I think sometimes we ignore that we have a deep cultural background that is engrained in us, and sometimes you can just

not get rid of that culture and that education that was like rooted in the first few years of your life (...) you have to be tolerant, you have to be able to work on it because you have to accept, ok, this is my culture, this is how I work, and this is their culture and this is this person's culture (...) when you're very young, yeah you think that it's all equal but I think with time you learn that it's not that easy actually" (New York, Female, DN, Broadsheet, New York, Female, DN, Broadsheet, 36)

Participants stressed the importance of being open to others in order to learn about the self:

"If you don't open your mind (...) life might miss you (...) make the most of every day, you know. Don't let anything hold you back from discovering something new about yourself. You discover more about yourself by finding out about others, you know, and it's the best way to do it" (New York, Male, DN, Broadsheet, 37)

At the worldwide level, the future orientation adhered to an ideal world, within which everyone can live in peace:

"I wish we could see it more often like multiculturalism just because I feel like if we did like people would be happier, like I don't want to sound too idealistic but I feel that if people could just step back and accept different people then them like the world would be a better place (...) because you see both sides of the story, or there are I guess like a million sides to the story but you can see from at least two angles (...) and [when you] look a little bit deeper you will find that everyone has something to offer and every culture has something to offer" (New York, Female, DN, Tabloid, 22)

In sum, emotive underpinnings in talk around multiculturalism, pertained to both positive and negative notions that participants could adhere to simultaneously. In particular, the notion of comfort and familiarity were key elements of negotiating differences and similarities in multicultural settings. The participants' most frequent fantasy work involved imagining or remembering distant lands, fantasies with regard to the Muslim female 'veil', and visualising a future ideal, which pertained to the 'bettering' of the self and therefore of the world.

Chapter Summary

This chapter looked at participants' evaluation of multiculturalism, as good/open-minded or bad/closed-minded. Multiculturalism was prevalently associated with the city (London/New York). Multiculturalism epitomises open-mindedness, and the city is represented as container for multicultural experiences. Furthermore, closed-mindedness was represented as antithetical to multiculturalism. In addition, it was linked to places beyond the city realm, which became the container for associations around closed-mindedness. While open-mindedness meant looking out into the world of diversity, closed-mindedness related to looking inward and remaining sheltered. Participant's identity work reflected this division between the good city and the bad outside. Endorsing the personal benefits gained from living in the multicultural city, participants positioned themselves positively towards it. Furthermore, both positive and negative emotive underpinnings were highlighted, and the meaning that interviewee's afforded to comfort and familiarity was outlined. Frequent fantasies associated with multiculturalism included pleasurable images of distant lands. On the threatening side of fantasy work, interviewee's frequently alluded to images around the Muslim 'veil'. Finally, participants adhered to a future vision pertaining to a bettering of the self on the personal level, and a better world on a worldwide level.

CHAPTER 8

CROSS-CULTURAL COMPARISON BETWEEN LONDON & NEW YORK

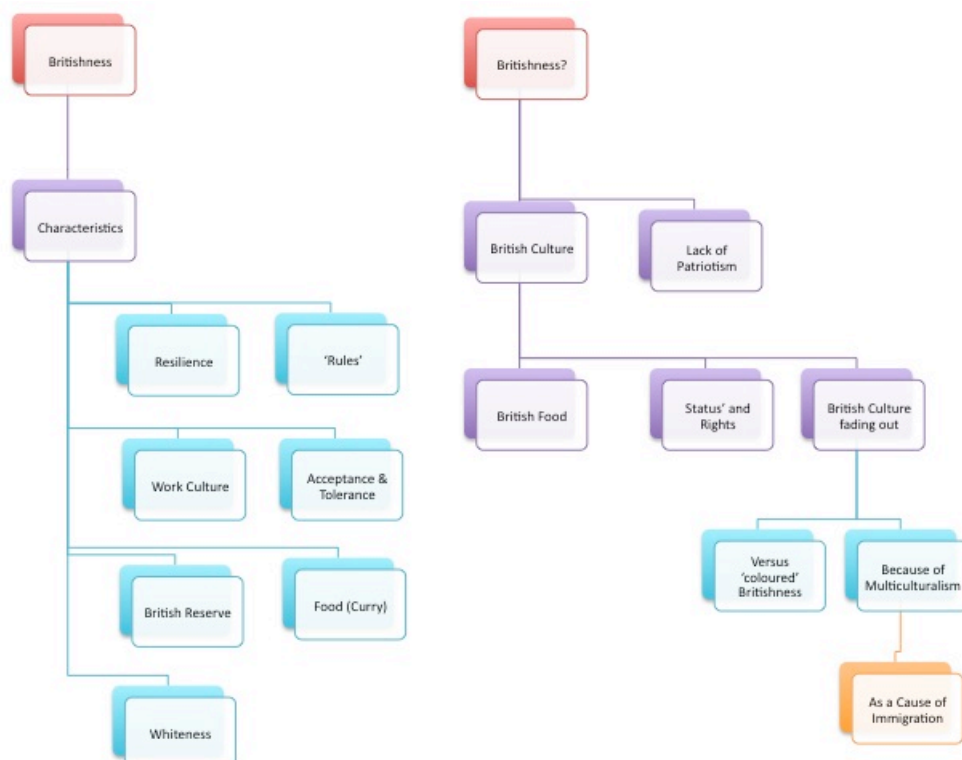
The last two results chapters looked at ways in which multiculturalism was represented in London and New York, and extrapolated common themes. This chapter is concerned with the specific cultural differences between the samples. The first section will describe idiosyncrasies within the London sample, while the second section will look in more detail at the New York sample. Initially, talk concerning prevalent social concerns and issues pertaining to the national character of the UK or US will be analysed. Secondly, historical anchors in both samples are outlined. Finally, specific talk in relation to each city's neighbourhoods will be described.

8.1 Engagement with Multiculturalism in Britain

8.1.1 On Britishness

“How many thing do you do that you think are completely English?’ You, you know, you enjoy kebabs, eat curries, drink tea, that’s not traditionally English. You play cricket, that’s not an English sport (...) I never knew that wasn’t English because you been brought up believing that tea is an English custom (...) you then end up in a situation of ignorance when actually everything we do with those kind of things is celebrating English customs as tea drinking, that actually you should celebrate that [as] a representation of cultural diversity in this country” (London, Female, MB, Broadsheet, 24).

Figure 28: Theme 12: On Britishness



Participants in the London sample frequently evoked the notion of Britishness in engagement with multiculturalism. Talk manifested this notion on several levels. Firstly, widely mentioned were characteristics that make for

Britishness. Prevalently, these included the British reserve. In addition, the British way of working was described:

"People look at other people as individuals, they will teach you skills, they're much more interested in your integrity and any other talents you might have that may contribute them (...) that is the British, yeah that is the British way of working, the work culture, I think is very much American, you know more an American model than European, because I think European is more strict in a way, 'Oh yeah, you have to have your university degree before you even think about it' but here it's more opportunity, so even if you don't have right qualification." (London, Female, FN, Broadsheet, 34)

British and American work cultures were compared to the rest of Europe. They were characterized as less strict and giving everyone opportunities to work in a field even without having the right qualification. Further components of Britishness included the ability to 'just get on in the face of terrorism', playing hard, British food and being organized. Moreover, the 'rules' one needs to learn in order to master British or London culture were laid out:

"The rules are quite easy to find out, if it's not naturally part of your culture. You can probably get by in London by just learning 'always stand on the right on the escalators and remember to queue' and that's it (...) they're the rules to master the city, so yeah I suppose the culture of London itself is accessible, you know it's quite easy to be British, because it's quite easy for people to learn a few rules (...) [with] Britishness the thing is that you can do it quite easily" (London, Male, BN, Broadsheet, 24)

Moreover, influences on British culture were symbolised in 'curry' being a British national dish:

"UK society today as a whole is becoming a melting pot, I mean it's just a trivial example is the curry, everyone loves the curry. English people love the curry, and it's like uh-m it's like a national dish now the curry. Even if you go to the north, you know, where mainly English people live, you know they wouldn't have their Friday night without a curry (laughs) so it's still like this, I mean obviously curry is as un-English as you can get and as a dish doesn't exist, I mean curry is like an English label for anything Indian you know" (London, Female, FN, Broadsheet, 34)

However, even though 'curry' has been described as a national dish, it was described as essentially un-British. In turn, what was described as essentially British is a culture of an 'accepting indifference' and tolerance:

"Uniquely British is a positive, accepting indifference of allowing people to practice their own culture (...) a social kind of liberalism, a old-fashioned kind of liberalism that is generally accepting, but I think it has been around for long enough to be truly a culture of tolerance. There is some key in Britain that is accepting of people (...) it's why people have always fled from persecution and come here and I think that is something that people can universally be proud of (...) in the 19th Century other European countries of similar wealth, power and standing as Britain were having pogroms and chasing people off the streets and hunting them out of their homes, and in Britain we don't do that." (London, Male, BN, Broadsheet, 24)

British acceptance meant that Britain always welcomed refugees from other countries. Furthermore, while the make-up of the British population has changed, and many 'non-British' people are found in the streets of London, the durability of essential Britishness was anchored in London's architecture':

"Little things like the red buses, the British bus, a few things that make people understand or come to London to see those kind of like British things, you always have those and even if you have a situation where you walk down the street and there's more tourists or more non-British people than British people it doesn't matter because the you know the buildings and the sites and sceneries that is always going to associated you know part of London" (London, Female, BN, Broadsheet, 31)

While participants frequently talked about particular characteristics of Britishness and places where they manifest, questioning the meaning of Britishness was equally present:

"English culture, whatever that means? I don't even know what that means in London these days" (London, Male, BN, Broadsheet, 26)

Questioning the meaning of Britishness led the following minority participant to wonder about the meaning of a white British identity:

"I don't actually know what English culture is, if I'm honest (...) I'm not sure, any white English person they can't tell you what it is (...) English culture is a fusion of many, many different things I find it difficult to call myself English because I'm not entirely sure what it is" (London, Female, MB, Broadsheet, 24)

As English culture is a fusion of many different things, the definition of an English person was questioned. Furthermore, questioning Britishness was manifest in associations with food:

"Living in London you get a lot of different food anyway. English dishes what ... I don't even know what an English dish is? Bangers'n mash, fish'n chips? Well how often do we eat that? Not bloody often. I cook a lot of curries and that's just normal to me... What is it? Fish'n chips, Shepherd's pie? Is that English? I don't know. Cottage pie that's sort of Irish Jews, Irish. I think it's a bit boring I can't define English food really. I mean obviously if you go back to the Victorian days it was sort of animal's heads and (laughs). A bit different now" (London, Female, BN, Tabloid, 29)

In particular, among minority nationals, the questions of status and rights in relation to belonging to British culture arose:

"You have people who were immigrants now saying they don't like immigrants (...) Either it's to fit in. Either it's to, it's to maybe to confirm that you're not an immigrant, that you're British national, so everyone who's coming in is now an immigrant to you and you're siding with the British national. To affirm that you're of this culture and not a new culture coming in. I think that's part of it, maybe it's for your own confirmation more than the actually raw belief" (London, Male, MB, Broadsheet, 33)

In order to affirm one as belonging to the British culture, immigrants were thought of as siding with the members of the majority who are against immigration. Furthermore, there was a frequent debate about the loss of Britishness as a result of multiculturalism:

"I think London has the biggest... in Harrow has the largest multicultural, I think there is more other ethniscities [sic.] than English in Harrow (...) white British are in minority now (...) 'Under one sky' was a celebration of Harrow's multiculturalism uh-m but I didn't see much celebration of British in there. Maybe it was made to educate the British maybe" (London, Female, BN, Tabloid, 34)

On the basis of ideas, such as the white British being in the minority, messages surrounding the loss of Britishness echoed strong anti-immigrant sentiments:

“People that aren’t even meant to be in this country, there is so many illegal immigrants, that I’m afraid that the English culture will faze out (...) you know traditional English stuff (...) it does worry me that there is so many different you know things going on out there, and things change and I just hope that the English tradition of whatever, food, whatever it is, like doesn’t die out (...) we can always get our culture from visiting other countries, we don’t need people here, you know, to come in to show us, because that’s what holiday travel is for (...) to get to know more about the culture and then you come home” (London, Female, BN, Tabloid, 26)

Pertaining to the idea that each country hosts a particular culture, this interviewee painted an image of immigration that needed to be stopped:

“You just feel like it’s this big open thing and you know anyone who fancies their chances under a van or in a bag of sugar or whatever they gonna do it (...) I think we somehow there should be a way to stop it and even people who are coming over because of traumatic situations in their country or they got a generous reason or they even want to bring money in to the country and start businesses, fine, but they should all go through really, really stringent checks, they should all learn the language, you know, and they should invite them to practice the British culture, because they are coming into our country, whoever it is, to help maintain the Britishness” (London, Female, BN, Tabloid, 26)

In contrast to the idea that immigration had to be stopped, some participants viewed multiculturalism as Britishness ‘dressed in a different fashion’. The characteristics of Britishness remained the same, only the people who adopted them look different. The following participant recounted his experience at the vets:

“I noticed it as I went on Monday to the vet, I noticed it years ago, there a lot more Indian people didn’t like dogs. When I went to the vet the other night, there were like three Indian families with dogs, uh-m, and I it’s just, you know, it’s, it just did something in my mind and I just thought well I, you know, funny because you didn’t used to like dogs, now obviously everyone is so multicultural, uh-m, you know, there’s, you know, everything comes around” (London, Male, BN, Tabloid, 37)

The same participant clarified that what happens to British society is a westernisation of other cultures:

"It's very Westernised anyway, it's not like they're preaching (...) arranged weddings on television, everything's westernised, and, so it's only the colour you're looking at, everything else apart from that, is the same like everyday life (...) you know, you have to have you're people of each ethnic minority; otherwise people will complain nowadays, so (...) they're mostly all still English and that's it (...) everything about this country, well not just this country, but Europe, everybody should abide the same as all, the same as us" (London, Male, BN, Tabloid, 37)

Despite the growing intermingling of British society, the change of 'colour' and the lack of patriotism, British nationals affirmed the strong dominance of white Anglo-Saxon, British people in the country. A further point regarding Britishness was the participants' sensed lack of patriotism in Britain, in particular in comparison to America.

"God, we're so unpatriotic aren't we? In Britain, I couldn't even say what is Britishness. We've got a monarch, we've got a, you know, a royal family, I think that stands a lot for Britain, doesn't it? Other than that, I mean we've got some beautiful buildings and architecture in England, which you don't get in America for instance, uh-m... I cant really define...I think we could be a bit more patriotic in comparison to a lot of other countries" (London, Female, BN, Tabloid, 29)

In line with the lack of patriotism on the part of the British nationals, some minority or dual nationals argued that the lack of public promotion of Britishness makes integration attempts difficult:

"I just also feel that the British culture is loosing...it sort of, you don't know how to define it. I think there should be more on the TV to promote the British culture, I strongly feel that, because sometimes I'm just lost, you know. You know, British culture, what is it? You know, you used to know before it was TV programs or fish and chips or few things others. But now, you know, it's, especially in London, you don't feel, you don't feel anything British here. Other than living here in UK, but...yeah...because you see a lot of people from different cultures, different backgrounds, but also because the British government and the British people they are not actually promoting their culture. There's nothing, I don't really know what

British culture is to be honest. I mean I'm a bit lost (...) I am only a bit confused about British culture, to be honest. Uh-m, cause I do integrate and I do go out of my way, but you don't feel it exists or that it's part of it... Yeah, you don't know what to integrate into, yeah" (London, Male, DN, Tabloid, 38)

In addition, foreign nationals frequently expressed their opinion about Britain and their relationship to Britishness. The idea of opportunities and freedoms was mirrored in their talk. Most associations from foreign nationals on Britain were positive:

"One beautiful thing is one, uh-m anybody can have abundant freedom to do what they want to and uh-m that's one of the most beautiful things of this country. That people from different beliefs and faiths can practice them so easily and also voice their opinion openly which might not, which couldn't possibly be done in many other parts of the world. So it's a very open county and it respects beliefs of different people which is very remarkable (...) I think the good point is that I think people should integrate and blend into the British culture." (London, Male, FN, Tabloid, 35)

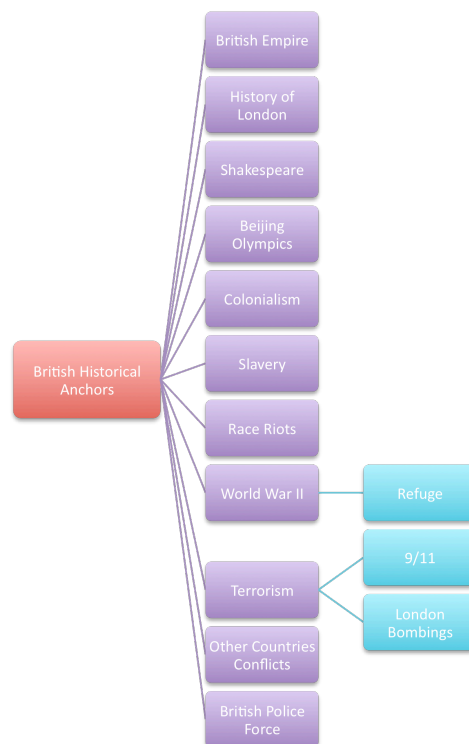
"British (...) I really think they're a dream world, they care about their people, they have the love of their people at heart, they even have the love of outsiders, I mean immigrants and all that, at heart" (London, Female, FN, Broadsheet, 34)

In sum, the associations surrounding Britishness involved participants' identification of several layers of specific British characteristics. In addition, Britishness was contested on cultural and political grounds. Further talk involved the notion of British culture fading out on the basis of the immigration that causes multiculturalism. Foreign nationals predominantly represented British society and culture in positive terms. Generally, talk was underscored by a general distinction between an essential Britishness and a typical un-Britishness. In addition, participants questioned how a British identity could be defined – as either based on essential British characteristics or as a fusion of many different elements.

8.1.3 British Historical Anchors – Living in a Post-Colonial Mix

“The thing I thought of is in Whitechapel (...) the building now that is the Whitechapel mosque was previously a synagogue and in the 19th Century and before that it was a French Huguenot Chapel, so three different waves of kind of immigration that used the same space (...) it shows that the movement of everyone docking off in Whitechapel and then sort of blending in and moving on” (London, Male, BN, Broadsheet, 24)

Figure 29: Theme 13: British Historical Anchors



Across the British sample, talk on multiculturalism pertained to several historical anchors. Particularly prevalent were mentions of the British Empire, in particular in conjunction with ideas of Britain’s cultural influences from elsewhere. The history of London was also mentioned, with a focus on the architecture symbolising Britain. Architecture was mentioned in combination with buildings that belonged to other religious denominations (such as the Muslim minaret). Certain landmark buildings in London were mentioned as symbolic of multiculturalism. Further historical anchors pertained to the

authentication of Britain and its history ranging from former British kings to British artists including Shakespeare, to politicians like Churchill and the attempted bombing of Parliament.

Participants' engagement with the historic British openness to receiving immigrants included Britain offering refuge to Jewish immigrants during the '30s and '40s. Furthermore, relations to the old British colonies and their independence were mentioned. In particular, minority or foreign nationals reaffirmed their belonging to Britain.

"Someone once said to my mum "My father used to fight in the war" My mum looked and said "Well, my father fought in the war" You know just because I'm black you know, colonisation meant that my mum's dad fought in the war" (London, Female, MB, Broadsheet, 24)

They further affirmed their love for Britain and British people for having brought 'civilisation' to their native countries.

"I'm from Nigeria (...) we actually love Whites. We love to see them, we love to discover them and you know actually the British colonized us. We have a little bit of white background, I mean British background, so we don't have anything against them (...) we actually love white people, you know what I mean, we see them as holy ghosts. We think half-gods about them (...) because they brought civilisation to us" (London, Female, FN, Broadsheet, 34)

Newer anchors included the London bombings and 9/11, frequently in conjunction with the Muslim religion and its practices.

"With multiculturalism it is probably Muslim religion, because of the arguments that have happened after 9/11 and that's what I think of. I think it's like the image of the woman in the Burka, walking through London" (London, Male, BN, Broadsheet, 26)

Further, the conflictual nature of Britain's relationship to immigration in general, and other cultures and nations in particular, was anchored in Britain's

history of slavery, race relations in the '50s and the '60s, and race riots in the '80s, particularly in the accounts of minority British participants about their parents' generation.

"I totally understand why some communities are a little bit isolated, because maybe they had a bad experience (...) in the last 40 years you've still got a lot of, I'd say people in my parent's age bracket you know sort of from late 40s to sort of 60s, 70s who've come here (...) they've experience racism so therefore they're not really interested in mixing" (London, Female, BN, Broadsheet, 30)

Anchors that did not relate directly to British history, but evoked notions concerning the ways cultural differences have led to systems of horror, included Nazism and the Second World War in general, and Auschwitz in particular. Further mentions included Saddam Hussein, Uganda, the war in Yugoslavia, and the Ireland conflict. These anchors were used to highlight systems that are opposed to what Britain stands for.

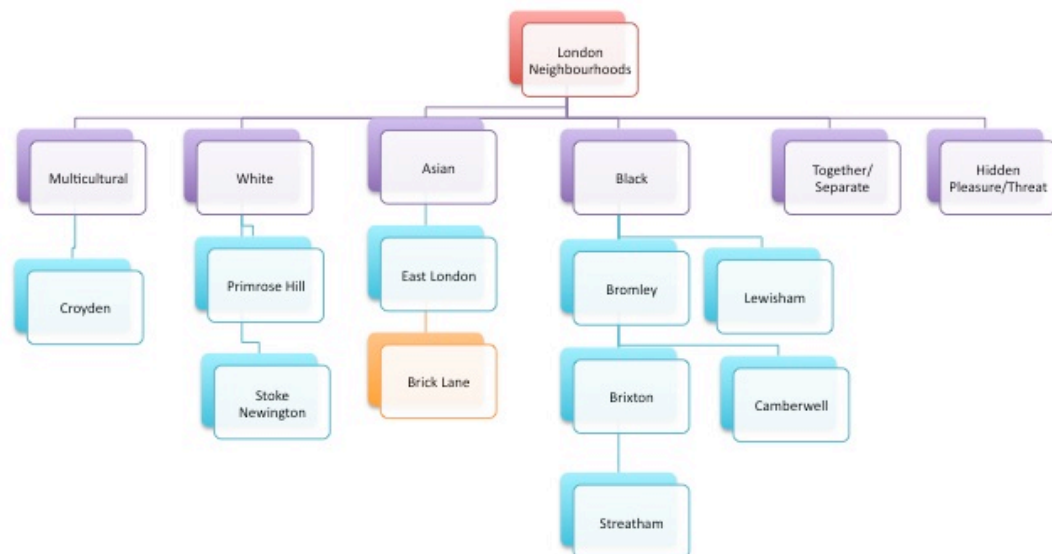
Occasionally, multiculturalism was anchored in the Beijing Olympics and the upcoming London Olympics. Furthermore, the founding of the British Police Force was mentioned, which contradicted the *'...inherent liberal attitude of British people and their scepticism towards authority'* (London, Male, BN, Broadsheet, 24). It is this liberalism in which the participants submerged historical anchors surrounding multiculturalism.

In sum, both positive and negative historical anchors were outlined which ranged across a spectrum of historical events and representatives.

8.1.4 London Neighbourhoods

“Croydon is very multicultural. It’s a big place, yes so maybe things are more accepted in Croydon than they would be in Beckenham (...) it’s a bit more middle-class kind of slightly pretentious” (London, Female, BN, Tabloid, 31)

Figure 30: Theme 14: London Neighbourhoods



This section explores specific London spaces, and particular cultural groups associated with them. In addition, the themes associated with space and cultural groups in the London sample are looked at. The acceptance of multiculturalism was attributed to certain London areas. In addition, certain areas in London were associated with one very specific culture, while others

were associated with a mix of different cultures and yet others were seen as strictly white British.

"If you go to a pub in Stoke Newington, it'll be almost exclusively white people in the pub, whereas if you go to one of the pubs on the highroad here you'll have Jamaicans, White English, Tottenham football fans, you know a couple of Polish guys, it would be more" (London, Female, BN, Broadsheet, 30)

South and East London areas such as Brixton, Streatham, Bromley, Camberwell and Lewisham, were frequently associated with African and Caribbean communities. Furthermore, east London was associated with Asians. In particular, Brick Lane was frequently mentioned in conjunction with food.

"I think everyone loves food (...) you've got all these different cuisine you can go to (...) like in Brick Lane every single one of these shops sells curry, but a lot of they're curries actually do taste different" (London, Male, MB, Tabloid, 23)

Rather than be exemplified as a problem, the specific cultural pockets of London were described in terms of the 'hidden pleasures' one can discover in the city.

"London throws up those surprises where just off Tottenham Court Road which is in Central London you think kind of Central London kind of belongs to everybody and nobody, especially Oxford Street which is again I don't like, because it is like a giant normal high street, but there's a street where suddenly there's a Korean, there are about two or three Korean restaurants uh-m and a Korean shop uh-m just there, just off Tottenham Court Road, so I thought clearly there is this hub of, I think, not that London is known for it's Korean community, but this must be it then, that's the home of London's Korean community, that's where people go. There were these little grouping of uh-m restaurants and a shop and a bakery" (London, Male, BN, Broadsheet, 24)

On the negative side, areas populated predominantly by immigrant communities provoked associations with 'problems'.

"In London you used to have very predominantly black areas but then you have a lot of black people living everywhere now. Also as well, it's not just specifically Brixton and Hackney or

Peckham. People are living everywhere, so I think there's a progression, but I think you could still look at it 'oh this area in East London or that particular area in South London is still a problem.' Because of the immigrants that live there or the culture that live in these areas" (London, Male, MB, Broadsheet, 33)

In particular, Hackney and Brixton were characterised as dangerous areas, populated by black people.

"I think Hackney is [the] worse [I would be] worried like to go to the shop at 12 o'clock or something. I wouldn't have gone to the shop in Hackney at 12 o'clock (...) you could for a split second think that is because of the [black people]" (London, Male, BN, Tabloid, 27).

The following interviewee placed threatening elements of a neighbourhood at the street level. She described the 'murder mile'. The interviewee distanced herself in the description through making explicit the avoidance of such areas, as well as the idea of being encased inside a cab.

"I go down to Bromley and there's this strip (...) in Peckham or Camberwell (...) the cab drivers told me that it's called the 'murder mile', there's one stretch in that area, which is, it's all gang on gang crime, but apparently there's just so many shootings and stabbings there and it's called 'murder mile'. Now I would never ever, you'd never catch me walking down there (...) there's certain high profile crimes as well (...) you wouldn't catch me in those well-known dodgy areas" (London, Female, BN, Tabloid, 36)

Brixton was also viewed as 'dodgy' as well as 'rough, and highly criminal'.

Finally, there was a London divide between North and South.

"Quite a few people think about it I think. You know, that North London is a bit smarter and greener and got nicer pockets of old villages and stuff like that and south London is a bit grotty and lots of council estates (...) north London in their eyes includes Westminster and Soho and all that stuff, south London is basically Brixton and Elephant & Castle" (London, Male, MB, Broadsheet, 34).

In sum, associations involving neighbourhoods questioned the togetherness or separation of different cultures and ethnicities. While most negatively marked areas, such as Brixton, Streatham, Peckham, Lewisham, were

associated with minority groups, other neighbourhoods symbolised multiculturalism. This hints at the distinction of 'good' and 'bad' places within the realm of the city. On the positive side, the cultural composition of specific neighbourhoods in London adhered frequently to a notion of exotic 'hidden pleasures'.

Section Summary (UK)

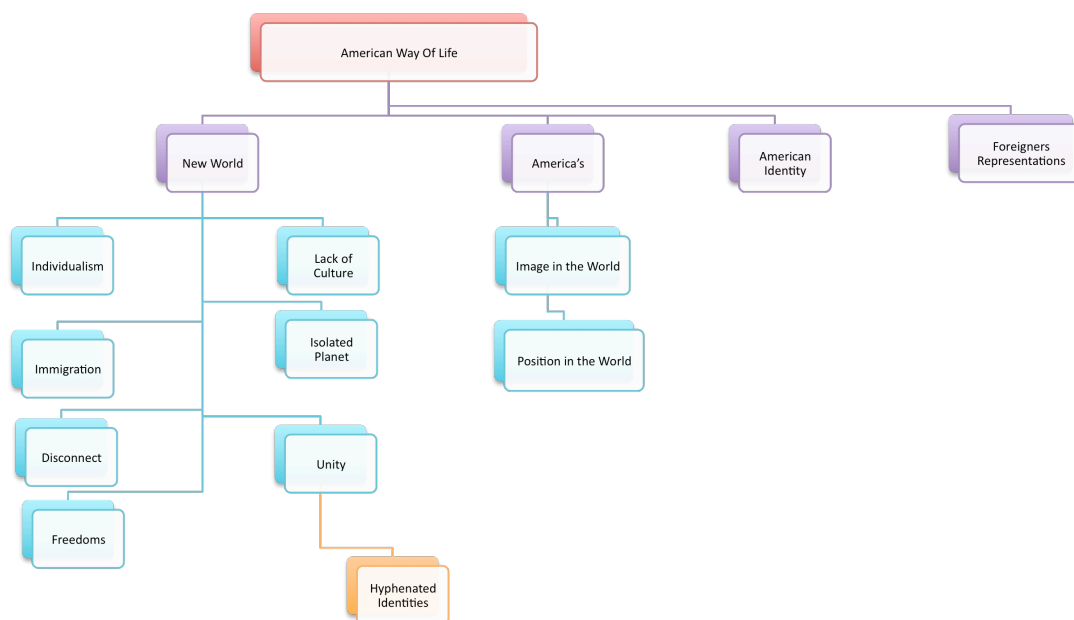
In sum, this section looked at representations of multiculturalism in the British sample. Questions on Britishness, circled closely around questions of a 'true' British essence. Furthermore, participants talked about British characteristics or questioned them. Generally, talk was underscored by a general distinction between an essential Britishness and a typical un-Britishness. In addition, participants questioned how a British identity could be defined – as either based on essential British characteristics or as a fusion of many different elements. Also, the fading out of British culture through multiculturalism was talked about. Moreover, historical events and figures through which multiculturalism was historically anchored, were summarized. Following this, specific neighbourhoods in London as representatives of specific cultural composition, were identified. Some neighbourhoods symbolised the working of multiculturalism, while others, usually minority populated ones, were associated with problems. The cultural composition of specific neighbourhoods in London adhered frequently to notions of a 'hidden pleasure'.

8.2 Engagement with Multiculturalism in the United States

8.2.1 The American Way of Life

"I see American culture as being this combination of all of these other different kinds of cultures so by having all of these aspects of the culture I don't think that it makes it harder to define, I just think that it broadens the definition of American culture to incorporate all of these many different kinds of cultures that are co-existing in this country" (New York, Male, USw, Broadsheet, 33)

Figure 31: Theme 15: The American Way of Life



Participants in the New York sample frequently discussed America's role in relation to multiculturalism. Prevalent mentions were the historical detachment of America from the 'old' world and the values upon which America is founded. While the old world pertained to group and family values, the new world was characterized by the idea of the 'individual':

“Over there from the Old World it’s like the idea is like you’re part of the group and you have to make sure you take care of the other group that is around you, like your family. And then the idea in America it’s like you’re an individual and you have individual rights and like you can you know your pursuit of happiness for you as a person” (New York, Female, DN, Tabloid, 22)

The ‘new world’ was created on the basis of difference, through the immigration of European settlers from various countries. One interviewee compared the founding days with contemporary issues:

“I think as a country, our foundation and what-not, it is based on different cultures coming in and if they could work with that back then, I don’t know why we can’t work with that now” (New York, Male, USm, Broadsheet, 23)

The cultural differences upon which America’s foundation rests were frequently discussed, and participants highlighted the idea of a disconnection between the old and the new worlds. This disconnection was apparent in participants’ lack of identification with their cultural background:

“America and kind of how people tend to feel very connected to their cultures I think there tends to be a disassociation in America when it comes to multiculturalism. Um, for instance like my family is from Ireland and Germany and Spain, I feel zero connection to that culture because I wasn’t really conditioned to be connected to it. I identify as an American (...) so I think that, you know, in 2nd generation and 3rd generation Americans, they tend to disassociate from their original culture a lot and families don’t necessarily make that a big part of their everyday life” (New York, Female, USw, Broadsheet, 26)

Through the generations the connection to America became stronger, and the one to former nationalities weaker. There was mention of a further disconnection between the country’s cultural composition and the ‘umbrella culture’, which remained dominantly white:

“It’s pervasive across our culture in America primarily because people that came here were all from different cultures. Um, it is funny though, if you look at the make-up of the Government over, since the best 200 whatever years generally is of one type of culture, one umbrella culture that you can buckle most people

in, if you go a little deeper you can find differentiation but for the most part it's been, you know, Caucasian male, whatever, the large majority, which is not reflective of the make-up of a lot of the country. So I think that, that disconnect is interesting" (New York, Male, USw, Tabloid, 28)

While America was thought to represent a Caucasian male umbrella culture, this representation was argued not to reflect the country's real cultural make-up. In addition, America fostering a sense of unity amongst all Americans due to its diversity was mentioned as well. This was expressed in a hyphenated identity, that is, a combination of American and other nationalities:

"African Americans, Greek Americans, Jewish Americans, which is really Israeli Americans, um, Chinese Americans, whatever. Everybody is ultimately an American, you know, people put it in marketing, Nike puts that on their marketing materials, we're all American or whatever (...) in that way it's united, having a country that you live in, you can identify not only as Chinese or African or whatever but also as, you know, on a nation spectrum (...) it's divisive in that the Japanese in World War Two, because they were Japanese Americans they were put into internment camps, and that caused a fairly large divide [or] American terrorists, however big of a stretch that is, right, if, you're an American but you're also a terrorist and you are subject to a much different set of rules than most other people like no jury trials or whatever" (New York, Male, USw, Tabloid, 28)

Hyphenated identity was said to create contradiction, when someone for example is an 'American' and a 'terrorist'. A further strand pertained to the frequent talk around the valorised 'freedoms' in America. One example was the 'freedom of speech'. On the one hand, some participants accentuated the taboo surrounding certain issues:

"Race, what we're talking about, class, poverty, wealth and gender, sexuality are the three no-no's in America, I think, I mean everyone identifies as middle class in this country! Um, racism ended in 1968, you know! And there is no glass ceiling for women, right! Women can achieve as much as possible and there's no such thing as sexual harassment either! Even though it happens every day, right" (New York, Male, DN, Tabloid, 23)

While some participants accentuated the taboo surrounding race, class, and gender issues, other participants endorsed American freedom of speech:

"[America] is the largest economy and I would like to say the greatest country in the world (...) there's so much more you can do in America, like there's no censorship in speech (...)"(New York, Male, USm, Broadsheet, 23)

Despite the hyphenated identity and social attempts to unify different cultural groups under the banner of 'American', the identified 'disconnect' raised questions of what American culture is:

"I mean that's a sign of American society, we don't actually make anything, we just want to buy, we don't have any real culture, we're only 200 years old anyways, how much culture can we have, you know (...) other countries that have been here for thousands of years, they've had time to actually develop cultures (...) we just kind of sprang up and decided to get down to business and everybody got busy (...) there's no culture and people don't take time to build any culture (...) family is falling apart so (...) the family atmosphere, the people taking no time out to enjoy life and make music, make nice things, you know, there's no culture. The things that people look for when they go to other places, they don't really find them here" (New York, Male, USw, Tabloid, 30)

Lack of American culture was also described in terms of food: *"Like think about it, what is, what is an American food? (...) American cheese, it's the worst, blandest cheese in the world (...) even what we eat on Thanksgiving is turkey, like the blandest meat you can find. There's no culture, there's no real identity"* (New York, Male, USw, Tabloid, 30). This cultural lack had implications for American identity, making it a 'hollow identification':

"Like I identify as being American (...) it's a hollow identification (...) you have some sort of patriot, like there's some sort of patriotic connection to America because there's so much freedom, financial opportunities, freedom of religion and not being in a communistic society, I have the right to vote the way I want to [but] people, who immigrate here seem to have such a cultural significance for wherever they're from. It sorts of gets lost when you become an American (...) I think you start to lose any kind of identification with the rest of the world, America's so isolated, being that we're in a country that feels like an entire planet, when you go to Europe or anywhere, it's almost bizarre, it's like being in a rocket ship" (New York, Female, USw, Broadsheet, 26)

The idea of America feeling like being on a different planet, and that travel feels like being on a 'rocket' ship links to another noteworthy strand of talk: America's isolation from the rest of the world and the position of America in the world. Participants frequently elaborated on ways in which America is perceived in the contemporary world.

"I do have to think about our policies towards other countries which have not been good in recent years (...) especially with the whole war in Iraq which has really made us hated in a lot of places and for pretty understandable reasons (...) us shoving our ideals on another country (...) the way people see us (...) no matter what America thinks, everyone else's view is important because like look at China, we need to pay attention to this because we're not going to be, you know, the big bad guy on the block forever (...) other countries don't like us so much when they come to see us because they see America as being this very like 'oh we're America we don't need anybody', the truth is we do need other countries" (New York, Female, USw, Tabloid, 25)

The election of President Obama was said to have influenced this image of America, because it is no longer politically correct to hate America:

"So now it makes it harder to hate America because Obama's in power so I think it makes it really kind of non-politically correct to still hate America" (New York, Female, DN, Broadsheet, 36)

The reason America's image in the world is negative has been explained as a result of the effect of globalisation, with American goods 'taking over' the world:

"And, you know, it's, er, a lot of places have, you know, this idea that we're kind of trying to like take over their country which I kind of understand when you consider that a lot of the pop culture in other countries comes from America originally. All the movies are from America so I kind of feel like we're stealing other people's cultures which, you know, it's interesting but as you become a world culture it's, you know, it's kind of inevitable so, you know, it's good to bring stuff too from other people's countries back to ours and then maybe we will become more of a world culture that way, so." (New York, Female, USw, Tabloid, 25)

Negatively represented American attempts to take over the world were manifest in talking about the spread of its pop culture around the world. However, to some participants, the export of American goods everywhere was described as 'comforting':

"American culture kind of has it's global reach and, you know, that's good for my personal needs because as an American I can see glimpses of home culture no matter where I go in the world, so I always thought that was pretty neat, and comforting. I can find that comforting" (New York, Male, DN, Broadsheet, 28).

Participants talked about the availability of American culture throughout the world, and the image of America in the world. Furthermore, the 'American arrogance' about its position in the world was highlighted:

"To understand why people do what they do or why they feel the way they do, takes you a little bit out of the American arrogance that is sort of prevalent I think throughout the country, especially in this day and age [like] during the Bush Administration that you don't really need to pronounce the names of foreign leaders correctly (...) for 8 years there was an attitude of a sort of Texas cowboy perspective on the world, like we'll beat you up and it doesn't really matter why (...) we can't have done wrong, we are America and so a lot of the Americas, you buy into it after a while" (New York, Female, USw, Broadsheet, 40)

The American arrogance was symbolised in the 'Texas cowboy perspective on the world'. A further strand of talk related to identity questions. While white majority participants questioned what American identity stands for, minority participants actively attempted to forge an 'American identity'.

"She [mother] was aware of the stereotypes and she wanted me to identify as American, she saw that most opportunities in this country didn't, no opportunities come from being part of a group, from a minority group or from, um, especially some groups are disenfranchised, she saw that the opportunities came from identifying as middle of the road American" (New York, Male, DN, Tabloid, 23)

While some [mainly minority] participants described how they actively attempted to identify with America to evade problems, such as being

stereotyped, other [mainly majority] participants explained how they avoided identifying with America and chose an alternative identity [Canadian] in order to evade problems of being confronted to Americas negative image in the world:

“After having said I was Canadian, um, my thoughts are sort of (...) it doesn’t matter where I’m from, I’m still the same person so it’s kind of dumb that you’re giving me a better reaction just because I’m Canadian but (...) if that causes us to not to have an argument about Iraq then I’m ok with it (...)” (New York, Female, USw, Tabloid, 25).

Despite different approaches to American identity, participants generally identified with New York and more so than with the rest of the country:

“I connect with my culture as a New Yorker, which is definitely a different, you know, different than the rest of American sensibility, for sure (...) New York is definitely more of an identity for me than America” (New York, Female, USw, Broadsheet, 26).

Identifying with New York differs from identifying with the rest of America, which was commonly represented as ‘WASP’.

“Different parts of America, if you go to like middle America, (...) you might think you were in another country, just their way of life (...) for instance like we had the civil rights movement maybe like 60 years ago in this country, you can go places where they still really don’t acknowledge it, you know, small really backwards places (...) all white Anglo-Saxon protestants, whatever, WASPS they’re called” (New York, Male, USw, Broadsheet, 31)

Finally, foreign nationals generally talked about the advantages America offers them. However, this participant emphasised the American ‘closedness’ towards the rest of the world.

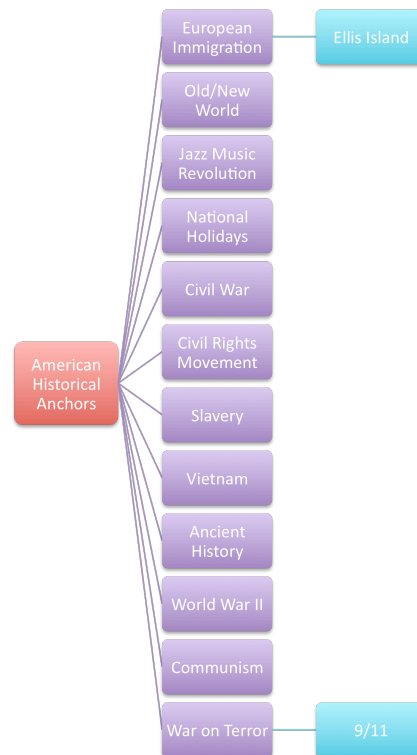
“I find that sometimes that Americans are not really interested in other cultures, they’re just very enclosed in that America is the greatest country in the world. Which it could be because that’s why I’m here, the land of opportunities, you know, economically they’re a big power but yeah they have to open up, you know” (New York, Female, FN, Broadsheet, 28)

In sum, the American sample frequently talked about the contrast between the old world and the new world. In this context, values underpinning American culture and society were frequently acknowledged. In addition, engagement with multiculturalism often led participants to question America's image to the outside and position in the world. Furthermore, questions about American identity were raised. American identity was fundamentally associated as a fusion or hyphenation of different cultural/national elements. This fusion was talked about as either leading to a hollow identification or an enriched identity. Finally, the representations of America by foreign nationals were outlined.

8.2.2 American Historical Anchors – A Culture of Immigration

“There was like a huge emphasis (...) about what we can appreciate about America [what] we should know about where all this stuff comes from, because it doesn’t originate here” (New York, Female, USw, Broadsheet, 28)

Figure 32: Theme 16: American Historical Anchors



Across the New York sample, several historical anchors arose during the talk on multiculturalism. Most frequently, references to early European immigration were made, in particular when participants talked about their own family immigration background:

“The first place I remember like hearing the term multicultural ... like the past 20 years I would say like schools have tried to, um, kind of like broaden their sense of history, like in terms of like not just being like European history but kind of, um, I guess exposing kids to like all kinds of culture and like how, especially in America, they’re all, have all ended up here but they didn’t originate here” (New York, Female, USw, Broadsheet, 28)

European immigration was anchored in the 'Old World' and the 'New World' and the dissociation between the two was described. The place anchor that most represented American immigration was Ellis Island, occurring occasionally in interviews. Further associations in relation to immigration included America's Founding Fathers, who abolished slavery and racism.

Other historical anchors were the jazz music revolution and how it has brought African-American music from segregated parts of the country into the mainstream. Additionally, engagement with multiculturalism was frequently anchored in national holidays (Thanksgiving, Memorial Day, Independence Day), all markers of cultural interdependence. Sometimes, specific aspects of the intertwined world of today were anchored in talk around food and the international movements of goods. This topic was anchored in historical aspects such as the 'potato farmer', old British Colonies, and the Dutch East Indies Trading Company. Elements highlighting the intertwine world were used to represent the fusion of various elements that define American culture and history.

A further noteworthy type of historical anchors were the ones that highlighted the conflictual American history of race relations, including the Civil War, the Civil Rights Movement, the lynching of slaves, African Slaves, crimes from the '50s to the '80s, and Vietnam:

"A noose here in the United States is from up until the 1950s, even the '60s, to gain control over slaves and over black people. They would take a noose, like that phone cord, say a cable, and they would string them up in the tree and hang them and typically slash their body and write nigger and different things on it" (New York, Male, USm, Broadsheet, 38)

These anchors represented Americas uneasy past with regard to the coming together of cultures, races and nationalities. Furthermore, historical anchors such as World War II, the Holocaust, the Nazis, and communism were used to describe social systems that oppose America and American values.

“Even with Russian communists, when you talk to those people or in the interviews I’ve seen with like communists in Russia back in the day and I’m not talking about like Nazis, I’m talking about just regular communists, they still stuck with their point of view (...) for them, you know, freedom isn’t necessarily good, you know. For them it’s maybe too liberating and along with freedom comes power and along with power comes control and people don’t want, I’m sure some people don’t want to let people have control of other people” (New York, Male, USw, Broadsheet, 34)

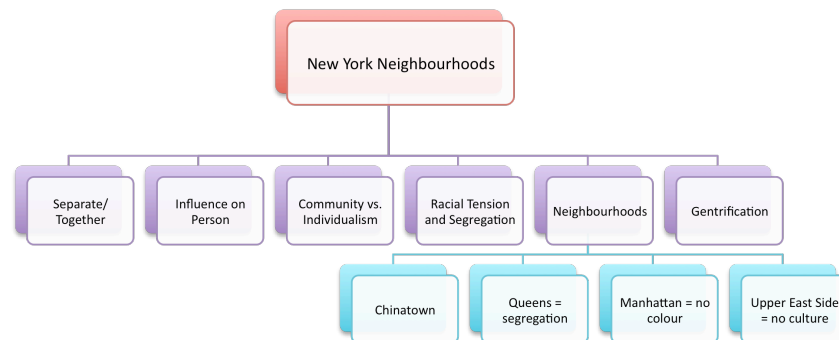
Communists were represented to oppose American values such as freedoms, which come with liberation, power and control. A more contemporary anchor of threat to the US was terrorism, in particular anchored in the attacks of 9/11. Talk around terrorism frequently prompted talk about Muslims, or vice versa.

In sum, the historical anchors in the New York sample revolved around the dissociation from the ‘old’ Europe and founding of the ‘new world’. Concrete anchors representing this historical move were Ellis Island in New York and the Founding Fathers of the Nation. Further historical anchors that relate to what America stands for, included music, food and national holidays. Conflictual elements of American history regarding its race relations were anchored in the Civil Rights movement, slavery, African-American history and other wars that America fought abroad. Commonly, ancient and more recent historical anchors were mentioned in conjunction with, or in contrast to, American values. Threat to America was most prevalently anchored in terrorism and the acts of 9/11.

8.2.3 New York Neighbourhoods

*“Queens, I immediately associate that, it’s amazing, like it really is, to be able to see like the most diverse county in the world”
(New York, Male, USw, Broadsheet, 31)*

Figure 33: Theme 17: New York Neighbourhoods



This section explores talk around specific New York spaces and particular cultural groups associated with them. In addition, the themes associated with space and cultural groups in the New York sample are looked at.

Participants talked a great deal about different neighbourhoods and the systematic spatialization of different cultures in particular neighbourhoods. However, participants’ talk oscillated between considering all cultures together in New York (*“In New York it seems like there aren’t, you know, black neighbourhoods and white neighbourhoods and Spanish neighbourhoods, it’s like there’s every different kind of person you can imagine”, New York, Female, USw, Broadsheet, 26*), yet allocating specific spaces that locate culturally different groups in isolation:

“You have all the Hasidic Jews living in Williamsburg and, um, er, you have a lot of Asians living in Flushing and you have a lot of Polish people living in Greenpoint and then there are certain

parts where African Americans kind of, like Harlem's primarily I think African American and then, um, then like you got, yeah, so I feel like it's pocketed (...) there are pockets where people live, in general, I would say that's a big generalisation because I mean obviously there's Polish people live everywhere, not just Greenpoint" (New York, Male, USw, Broadsheet, 34)

The cultures living in one's neighbourhood were also believed to have an influence on the person. Interestingly, this person emphasized not having been influenced by Middle Eastern culture:

"Brooklyn, Bushwick, Brooklyn, around there. So there were like let's say Dominicans, Puerto Ricans, Ecuadoreans, Mexicans and stuff like that. So I, um, also, I was influenced by, by other Hispanic cultures so not only mine but other Hispanic cultures. Not too many like, um, let's say like from let's say the Middle East or anything like that because there weren't too many" (New York, Female, USm, Tabloid, 21)

Influence was also manifest in one's behaviour, in that certain neighbourhoods pertained to certain styles of 'cultural behaviour':

"We lived in Queens (...) when I moved to Long Island the majority was Americans. There was, there was only like three other Hispanic kids (...) I wasn't very social 'cos over there it was mostly white people (...) even the Spanish girls, they thought I was too Spanish for them, yeah 'cos they were also brought, like I guess they were raised in Long Island, they were, they wouldn't act Spanish and I didn't see them acting Spanish, I saw them acting more American (...) I felt left out because I live in a very white neighbourhood, there's no Spanish people. Now I, when I come over here into Queens, um, I hang out, um, when I'm in Long Island I just stay home, help out" (New York, Female, DN, Tabloid, 20)

Spanish girls that grew up in the predominantly white Long Island would not act Spanish but more American. Furthermore, an inherent dilemma was mentioned between accepting migrant communities and, at the same time, avoiding the creation of tight communities. The idea of community contradicted the idea of being accepted as an 'individual':

"Flushing and Chinatown to some extent it's just like they have such an insular group there that the signs, like in Brighton Beach all the signs there are in Russian, everything, you know, even my building code signs were in Russian there (...) very much this is

a group who came to this country, moved here and then stayed with their own groups so that they could continue their culture, which I totally understand because, you know, when you leave a place it's really hard, you get homesick and you want to be around your own culture. But they don't necessarily leave or branch out, you know, to get with the rest of the culture and it becomes really insular (...) that has its ups and downs because for me, visiting it, I can learn something about Russian culture that I couldn't learn if that neighbourhood wasn't there, but for me, living in it, it's also like I'm here, not Russian and I would like to be accepted for what I am" (New York, Female, USw, Tabloid, 25)

Positive elements of visiting a culturally predominantly Russian neighbourhood was described as the ability to learn something about Russians, however such neighbourhoods have become insular and not accepting of people for who they are. Participants frequently talked about Chinatown as a neighbourhood that is specifically populated by one cultural group.

"Like Chinatown is another place (...)on the train this morning (...) the people that get off tend to be Asian or Chinese or Korea or something of that nature, which is in Chinatown and its interesting to me. I can almost stand near someone of that descent and there is no seats available and I stand there then I know when the doors open they might get off at that stop and if I stay on I get a seat. (...) it's definitely become dominated by that population when you walk through. Whether they walk there, live there, eat there um meet friends there, it's just common comfort zone, which is great for them, cause they have a common comfort zone (...) I really would say that that's the neighbourhood that is not only coined and named by them and after them but it's just so much business going on there and so many people want to come and see it, it's just a very popular area, so I think that's great." (New York, Male, USw, Broadsheet, 26)

Chinatown represents a comfort zone for Chinese living, walking, and eating there. In addition to comfort as positive emotional underpinning in association with neighbourhoods, negative emotional underpinnings pertained to racial tension and segregation. In this negative form, talk around segregation was almost exclusively a minority issue:

"This is what I found so hard about New York, with all the different cultures here, people are segregated. You have blacks in Harlem, you have the Italians down in, er, Sheepshead Bay, then you have Chinese people all the way down to Chinatown, then you have, er, Asians out at Astoria, it's like everybody's like, yeah New York is multicultural, we have all these beautiful things but, you know what, you can't walk through Bensonhurst, I can't walk Bensonhurst as a black man (...) Bensonhurst is an area here in the city, well not the city but over there in Brooklyn, um, where it's primarily Italian, you know, and if you're of another race you could get jumped" (New York, Male, USm, Broadsheet, 38)

Queens was represented as the most diverse county in the US, and the most segregated, too:

"[In Queens] you find it more segregated, you know, areas and your pockets of different people, you know, living together (...) my grandmother lives in Queens, I think Queens is very segregated, you know, as far as, you know, demographics and all of that go (...) generally blacks over here, your Mexicans over here, your Asian community over here, your Greek over here, you know, the Russians live here, you know, it's just very segregated" (New York, Female, USm, Tabloid, 40)

Queens was described as a composition of several communities living segregated lives in one place. In general, Manhattan represented the exception within all five boroughs of the city. Manhattan was further described as having lost its neighbourhoods and middle class, its soul and its culture - it has become populated by 'suits':

"I feel like not, Manhattan is, is, um, different. Like I said the neighbourhoods were sort of disappearing, I feel like they are in Manhattan (...) if you go around Manhattan very few people actually were born and raised anymore, and, and actually grew up here (...) Manhattan's like I said it's just losing a middle class (...) it's just a bump of wealth (...) when you walk down the street you just get a different feel now (...) it's becoming more commercial than actual like, er, it's losing it's culture, it's soul, so to speak, it's just becoming kind of like bland (...) Starbucks and, you know, corporate restaurant groups and steakhouses and the financial district, all the suits and, but then there's no more neighbourhoods anymore" (New York, Male, USw, Broadsheet, 31)

Consequently, Manhattan has also been described as having 'no colour'. Not seeing colour in turn has been associated with being 'Americanised':

"I think Manhattan's just different. I think Manhattan is more, Manhattan, yeah, I, I feel like Manhattan is more like they don't see colour. Because I did grow up with somebody from Manhattan and I used to come to Manhattan and hang out with them, and I think it's more Americanised, they're more Americanised and I, I see it as they don't see colour. Um, there's blacks, there's, um, mixed mulattos, um, Spanish, white and they all, culture, like it was like culture wasn't even an issue, it was like they had their own culture, like they were you're a Manhattanite and it's just from the outside looking in, I never saw colour over there" (New York, Female, USw, Tabloid, 30)

However, the availability of different cultural compositions in specific neighbourhoods was described as something pleasurable:

"You can go in some boroughs or some little parts and, you know, you can be with, you know, the same population (...) if I feel like I want to have Greek food tonight, well I can hop on a train and go to Astoria and have, go to one of the best Greek restaurants in the world and be surrounded by Greek people. Um, man it's, you know, it's, it's amazing" (New York, Male, USw, Broadsheet, 33)

Different neighbourhoods open possibilities for choice, e.g. where to go to have Greek food. In line with the notion that multiculturalism referred to 'minority culture', neighbourhoods that are white, upper middle or upper class, were denoted as 'not having a culture':

"If you live on the upper East Side and you don't go between 60th Street and 85th Street, you're going to have a problem in finding culture. Yeah, you can go to the, you can go to the Met and the Witney and, um, you know, ten society parties a month but you're not really, you're not going to find the culture that I'm talking about, um, you know, as if you hop on a train and went to Astoria or went to an African dance exhibit somewhere or, you know, um, it's just, it's very different that way" (New York, Male, USw, Broadsheet, 33)

Furthermore, participants occasionally talked about the gentrification of certain neighbourhoods. One participant contested how the exit of black and Hispanic

cultures and the entrance of white culture was associated with 'making the neighbourhood nicer':

"I was in Red Hook so it was only black, Hispanic and stuff like that (...) white was the minority in Red Hook then, before it started to trickle down and then it became more of, um, a yuppie type area (...) we moved to Bensonhurst so then it was just all Italian, that time, especially like the 90s it was all Italian, everywhere, Bay Ridge, Bensonhurst, Dyker Heights was just, that's all (...) every neighbourhood has its problem and stuff like that but, um, it was just weird for me how people would say, you know, as the yuppies were moving more into Red Hook, that Red Hook was becoming nicer. I didn't think it was that bad before so, you know, they said the same thing, um, with Harlem, so" (New York, Male, USw, Tabloid, 38)

A retired police officer, who worked mainly in sections in the Bronx, described this 'niceness' as part of bad neighbourhoods being 'fixed up':

"I'm a retired police officer so when I first got on the job, I mean years ago, a little culture shock when they stick you into a bad neighbourhood and you see different cultures and how people carry themselves in the street (...) down in north Bronx, you know, some bad areas are pretty bad down there and they stick you on a street corner (...) you got constantly things going on, you got people on the street, smoking, doing drugs, all kinds of things right in front of you. It's like a different part of the world (...) the part that I was in, it was mostly, um, Afro-American and Hispanic and some white. Um, some parts of where I was, I mean it's a large area that we covered at the time, some parts were real bad (...) right by St. James's Park, off Jerome Avenue in the Kingsbridge section (...) until they fix up the neighbourhoods in that area it'll always be like that in that part where I worked yeah, because I, I drive by it sometimes, you know, just to, if I'm passing through and then I'll see it's, the neighbourhood still hasn't changed. But there's some parts of the Bronx that are very nice, you know" (New York, USw, Tabloid, 39)

Notions of gentrification pertained to positive as well as negative aspects.

They pertained to a lessening of crime and a willingness of people to open themselves up to neighbourhoods that they would have previously avoided:

"I know that a lot of people that have moved to Harlem in the last year or two which, which 20 years ago those, those same people would not be moving to Harlem because of a higher crime rate, that would be like the main reason. And, and plus I think maybe because people become more open-minded because of more information that people are a little more willing to live

*multiculturally, and not be so ignorant against everybody else”
(New York, Male, USw, Broadsheet, 34)*

However, gentrification has also been described as the continuation of legal segregation. It was described as a way to uphold racism by creating communities marked by ‘white’ sameness:

“And then the suburbs all just another way to segregate, um, legally. For example there are towns in Long Island where you can’t park on the street unless you have a parking sticker on your car that says you are from that town, right. So if your town is racially all white then black people can’t park on your street, right. Um, the fact that, you know, you have a choice as to who you sell your house to, and it’s a personal choice and no-one can take that away from you and no-one is going to take you to court and say that you didn’t sell them a house because of the colour of their skin because it’s going to be hard to prove, so people aren’t going to sell houses to races that they don’t want in their neighbourhood. Because people aren’t necessarily leaving to go somewhere else, they’re leaving to stay in the same kind of neighbourhood” (New York, Male, DN, Tabloid, 23)

In sum, participants’ talk about New York neighbourhoods underscored the ideas of separateness and togetherness. In addition, talk referred to a notion communitarianism that hindered the possibility of living out one’s individualism. Furthermore, the influence of the neighbourhoods on the person was described. Particular neighbourhoods were mentioned with regard to having no culture, and thus ‘no colour’ or elements defining this neighbourhood. Finally, the theme of gentrification was highly prevalent in the US sample, whereas it was completely absent in the UK sample.

Chapter Summary and Cross-Cultural Comparison

This chapter looked at the two samples in terms of specific representations underpinning the country people live in, the historical anchors pertaining to the countries, and associations pertaining to specific neighbourhoods in each city. A cross-cultural comparison between the two samples with regard to these four subthemes is outlined below.

British Public versus American Public Talk on Multiculturalism

Ideas pertaining to the two countries in terms of spontaneous talk about multiculturalism elicited somewhat different responses. While talk on multiculturalism in the UK led participant's to take an inward-looking vantage point, talk in the US led to an outward-looking vantage point in terms of thinking about the participant's country. Thinking about Britain involved a sense of questioning what Britishness means, what 'typical' British ways of life are and how Britain handles immigration and the coming together of cultures on British soil. In contrast, thinking about multiculturalism and North America pertained to a sense of quarrel with America's position in the world and its image to the outside world.

Additionally, in the British sample a distinction was drawn between typically and non-typical British elements. This connotes a notion of British essence. Representations of this essentialised Britishness were emphasised by the notion of a threat to British culture due to immigration. This notion of essence

was absent in the American sample, and participants frequently related their talk to the idea that the country is young and made up of immigrants. A strong connotation was the dissociation of America from the 'old' world and the creation of the 'new' world, with its strong principles and values. Every American is essentially someone of a different nationality, who either comes from the 'old' world or other parts of the world. Consequently, rather than talking about an essential notion of nation, talk in the US evolved around the principles upon which the country was founded.

Participants in the British sample frequently questioned what the British national identity is. Due to multiculturalism, foreign dishes have come to represent national British dishes, despite not being typically British. Participants questioned how a British identity could be defined – as either based on essential British characteristics or as a fusion of many different elements imported over time. In contrast, American identity was described as fundamentally based on a combination of cultures and nationalities leading to a set of hyphenated identities. Yet, all identities fused together under an umbrella of 'American identity'. However, American national identity was further defined as 'hollow', stripped of any significant meaning. This hollow national identity was contrasted to other countries' strong national identity. These comparisons were mainly anchored in large US minority groups, for example Puerto Ricans. The British public quarrelled with the meaning of British identity. In turn, the American public said '...becoming American means leaving national identity behind'. Paradoxically, a stronger sense of patriotism was found in the US than in the UK.

Historical anchors in both countries are comparable, in the sense of their focus on past wars, racial tensions within the countries, and references to the ancient world and global terrorism. With reference to race, historical anchors relating to African-American history and slavery were somewhat more prevalent in the US than in the UK sample. However, the content of what Britishness and Americanness is, and historical anchors in which this content was embedded, show an interesting relationship. The inward-looking position of the British public regarding questions of Britishness is based on a dominant set of British historical anchors regarding the outside world, such as the British Empire and colonialism. In contrast, the outward-looking position of the American public regarding questions of Americanness is based on a dominant set of historical anchors pertaining to the past on American soil, e.g. immigration to Ellis Island, the Founding Fathers, national holidays, and so on. The exception is the strong associative link to the 'old world'.

With regard to neighbourhood associations, specific cultures were ascribed to specific neighbourhoods. In addition certain neighbourhoods were associated with negative aspects such as crime or territorial gangs, while others were associated with positive aspects such as pertaining to memories of visiting foreign food restaurants. However, some differences exist. In the UK, the existence of separate communities was associated with the freedom of communities to express themselves and be allowed to practice and maintain their heritage culture. In the US context, the idea of separate communities was commonly seen as the opposite of individual freedoms because the view

was that one is not seen as an individual but as belonging to a certain social, cultural or religious group. This distinction is reflected in the existence of much talk around gentrification of certain neighbourhoods in New York, which adheres to notions of continued racism and discrimination. In contrast, talk on neighbourhoods in London adhered to a more dynamic view. Particular areas were represented as being populated by particular cultures, and with new waves of immigration different cultures took over these areas while old one move into better neighbourhoods.

In sum, public engagement with multiculturalism elicited more similar than diverging associations in both cultural contexts. While some differences were found mainly in relation to the perspectives taken in view of multiculturalism [in-ward or out-ward] and some particular contents [such as gentrification], these differences were generally subtle. Engagement with multiculturalism in the two samples was notably similar. This could be explained by the commonly shared western liberal principles both countries adhere to. These principles include individualism, capitalism, freedoms and equal rights. These principles underpin liberalism as the dominant ideology of the western world. In addition, both countries share the same language, so that linguistic influences might be cancelled out. Finally, both London and New York are internationally attractive cities in the finance and industrial sectors. They are both likely to attract individuals who adhere to principles supporting global and liberal ideas.

CHAPTER 9

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

This chapter will discuss the findings pertaining to public engagement with multiculturalism in London and New York. The discussion is guided by four major points. First, sources for assisting both dialogical tension and consensus in public engagement with multiculturalism are discussed. The second part of the discussion looks at ways in which manifestations of multiculturalism substantiate notions of intergroup differentiation or inclusion. In addition, major symbols and anchors that were extrapolated are discussed. Finally, two othering processes underpinning public engagement with multiculturalism are sketched.

9.1. Dialogical tension and consensus in public engagement with multiculturalism

Public debate on multiculturalism has sparked renewed interest in the last few years. Newspaper articles frequently refer to the term ‘multiculturalism’. Ambivalent messages about multiculturalism are being spread, such as a recent article by the BBC that asks ‘Multiculturalism: What does it mean?’ (7/2/2011). The article goes on to say that: “*It is one of the most emotive and*

sensitive subjects in British politics (...) the debate on multiculturalism may be an important one. But while public discussion of the subject may have become more familiar, there remains little consensus about what the word actually means” (BBC, 7/2/2011). This thesis offers some answers to this question.

In a nutshell, this research shows that, at the core of the British and American publics' conceptualization of multiculturalism, rests one consensual meaning: the coming together of more than one culturally, racially or religiously different element in one place. Furthermore, talk on multiculturalism engages people in a substantial inquiry of the meaning of differences and similarities. Most prevalently multiculturalism is symbolized in food images and anchored in geographical places or symbolic spaces (comfort zone). While the British public centres its engagement more closely around issues of co-existence of different elements in Britain, the American public centres its engagement more closely around issues of becoming American or America's standing in the world.

Social Representations Theory proposes that in order to communicate, people need to have shared knowledge. Human relationships adhere to a dynamic of familiarization, where objects, individuals and events are perceived and understood in relation to previously known encounters or paradigms (Moscovici, 2000). Furthermore, the theory proposes that without dialogical tension, communication is not possible (Markova, 2003b). This section will

discuss the elements that assist the creation of dialogical tension as well as the consensus underlying talk of multiculturalism.

9.1.1 Sources for Dialogical Tension in Engagement with Multiculturalism

In order for any phenomenon to become an object of debate in private and public conversation, it needs to be expressed by negotiation, evaluation and the judgment of oppositions in tension (Markova, 2003b). People's group membership, people's positioning and the modalities of engagement with multiculturalism, all help to thematize it. Ways in which these elements can assist the rise of dialogical tension underpinning the concept of multiculturalism, and thus make it an issue of social debate, is discussed below.

'Difference' as a core element defining multiculturalism stresses the underlying perception that difference is an essential part of multicultural societies. Difference in this context is predominantly symbolised in social groups (Joffe & Staerklé, 2007; Joffe et al., in press). Groups, who are the subject of talk concerning multiculturalism, include mostly national, racial, ethnic, and religious minorities. Theoretically, multiculturalism has been referred to as being predominantly concerned with issues surrounding minorities, such as minority rights (Soutphommasane, 2005). Race and ethnicity in particular contain visual markers of difference and highlight minority status. Religion is a case in point, mainly because it can involve visually distinctive features such as the Muslim veil. Thus, minority nationals symbolise the 'difference' that is a defining characteristic of multiculturalism.

Thus, people can feel themselves as belonging to social groups that define the concept of multiculturalism, or not see themselves as belonging to its defining characteristics. Minorities being the ones who offer multiculturalism, while majorities join and engage with it indicates different positions between minorities' and majorities' engagement with multiculturalism. Consequently, people's belonging to specified social groups determines people's position towards and engagement with multiculturalism.

People can adopt three positions in relation to multiculturalism. Firstly, they can distance themselves from the multiculturalism that surrounds them. In talk, this manifests itself through associations of isolation (e.g. spraying cleaning products to avoid bad foreign food smells). Secondly, people can actively engage in multiculturalism. This is discernible in people's engagement with multicultural entities, such as trying different restaurants. Thirdly, people can 'merge' with the concept, as presented in talk pertaining to 'being' multicultural, e.g. 'I am a product of multiculturalism'. Depending on whether people position themselves at a distance from, engaged in, or merged with, multiculturalism, people employ different ways of talking about it.

People can adhere to two modalities of talk – a neutral or an engaged one. The first form pertains to the construction of multiculturalism in a descriptive, neutral, intelligible way. People remain at a certain personal distance to the phenomenon under investigation. This first modality can be reflective of social norms and taboos around multiculturalism, and a neutral factual account may reflect politically correct ways of approaching the subject. The second

modality of talk in relation to multiculturalism pertains to an engaged form. People talk about their personal experiences, emotions and fantasies in relation to some element associated with multiculturalism. Neutral or engaged ways of engaging with multiculturalism, cause speakers to either take the role of an observer of the outer world, or to be an analyst of inner meaning and experiences.

Finally, 'difference' can manifest in various ways. It can relate to opposition (highlighting the differences), fusion (hyphenation or mixing races), or suppression/abandonment (culture fading out). Depending on people's evaluation of 'similarity' as being either good (protector) or bad (blandness), difference can be evaluated as being positive (adding vibrancy) or negative (threatening similarity). Representations are often characterized by an ambivalent combination of several elements.

Social group membership (majority/minority), three forms of positioning (isolation, engagement, merger), two modalities of talk (neutral/engaged) or people's definition of difference (as opposition/fusion/suppression or abandonment) are likely to reinforce dialogical tension in engagement with multiculturalism within the bounded space of the 'city'. Moreover, these elements cannot be looked at in isolation but influence and are influenced by one another. For example, in line with multiculturalism pertaining to 'minority issues', minority nationals were found to be more likely to position themselves in merger with, as well as expressing themselves in a committal way in relation to, multiculturalism.

In sum, this section provided a discussion of several elements reinforcing the creation of dialogical tension in engagement with multiculturalism. These elements are social group belonging, positioning towards multiculturalism, and modalities of talk about it, as well as definitions of difference in multicultural contexts. The following section will shed light on the consensual nature of representations of multiculturalism.

9.1.2 Sources for Consensus in Engagement with Multiculturalism

While dialogical tension is required for a phenomenon to become privately or publicly thematized, consensus is essential for individuals and groups to communicate and have a common 'language' (Moscovici, 2000). Findings from this thesis show that a set of common symbolic manifestations underpins public engagement with multiculturalism, including food and geographical spaces. For example, the study revealed that the 'city' was unanimously portrayed as a multicultural 'image of the world'. An image that is progressive in nature. This corroborates findings by Condor (2006) who found that the value of multiculturalism is represented as contemporary and progressive amongst British respondents. Furthermore, findings reveal that the vast majority of Londoners relate multiculturalism to their city (London). The same holds true for New Yorkers, who relate it to New York. This shows how people localize multiculturalism in their immediate life-worlds. Moreover, the manifestations (e.g. food) that underpin the localization of multiculturalism in a particular cultural or national context are consensual.

Consensus relates to the “idea of a representational field’, which is ‘...susceptible to contradiction, fragmentation, negotiation and debate. In such a representational field, there is incoherence, tension and ambivalence. Yet, permeating all these disparate elements there is a consensual reality, which forms the common ground of historically shared meanings within which people discuss and negotiate” (Rose et al., 1995, p.5). While people can engage and position themselves differently towards multiculturalism, many symbolisations and anchors in representations concerning multiculturalism are consensual.

In sum, in spite of elements that assist the creation of dialogical tension in engagement with multiculturalism, several symbolisations, such as ‘the city’ and anchors, such as places, create a consensus with regard to social representations of multiculturalism. The following section will pay closer attention to dialogical group relationships. Various constructions of similarities and differences in multicultural contexts lead people to either endorse intergroup differentiation or inclusion. Following that section the consensual pragmatic manifestations of multicultural representations are discussed.

9.2 The role of intergroup differentiation and inclusion in public engagement with multiculturalism

Findings in this thesis reveal a strong dynamic in relation to similarity and difference. The major defining characteristic of multiculturalism, namely ‘difference’, is disputed in reference to similarity. This idea is reflected in

Markova's idea of the strangeness inherent in the 'other' or *Alter* (Markova, 2007). People's engagement with multiculturalism (*object*) signifies the starting point for the dynamic working of the *ego-alter-object* relationship. Much of people's engagement with multiculturalism becomes negotiated in terms of the relationship between similarity and difference.

People can construct difference and similarity as either good or bad. Findings reveal that people frequently adhere to a combination of good and bad elements in their evaluation of multiculturalism. Several ways in which similarity and difference interact in public engagement with multiculturalism are discussed below. Moreover, different ways of constructing the interplay between similarity and difference in people's talk accentuates either intergroup differentiation or inclusion. This accentuation tackles the heart of the social psychology of multiculturalism: how do manifestations of multiculturalism substantiate notions of intergroup differentiation or intergroup inclusion? The following section will elucidate this further.

Firstly, findings reveal that people represent sameness using positively evaluated comfort, familiarity and security. As such sameness needs protection from the unknown and sometimes intimidating characteristics of the representations of difference. In this sense 'difference' constitutes a threat. Threatening associations include societal concerns such as terrorism, economic problems fostered by immigrants, or the national culture fading out. In addition, representations of difference are underpinned by personal fantasies, such as intimidating or threatening associations around the Muslim

veil. Interestingly, the explicit threat of national culture fading out was only present in the UK dataset, while a less threatened position was found in the US. Data revealed a profound debate with regard to the image of the US in the world, and the implications of the export of US culture and the US as 'world-police'. Such associations circumscribe core elements pertaining to multiculturalism in a nationalised frame of reference. People construct differences associated with multiculturalism along prevalent social categories – race, nationality, class, gender and religion. Such categorization delineates in-groups from out-groups, and sound evidence proposes that this delineation is a quest for *positive distinctiveness*, meaning people's sense of who they are is defined in terms of similarity to others (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner et al., 1987, in Brown, 2000). In this attempt, people, events, and actions also become identified and categorized (Augoustinos, 2001). This categorization makes the social world meaningful (Lakoff, 1987). **Intergroup differentiation** that aims to achieve positive distinctiveness from 'others' in order to foster in-group norms and evaluation, corroborates ideas stemming from SIT (Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel and Turner, 1986, Verkuyten & Brug, 2004; Verkuyten, 2005a).

However, one of the major critiques in this thesis was the idea that social psychology is dominated by a negative outlook with regard to intergroup relations through the emphasis on intergroup differentiation (Jost et al., 2004; Brown, 2000). Furthermore, it was argued that research on intergroup conflict neglects the possible positive dimension that multiculturalism can add to the body of intergroup dynamics, namely with regard to inclusion, social justice or mutual respect (Fowers & Davidov, 2006). In the light of this critique, this

thesis offers interesting results. Two ways in which representations of multiculturalism pertain to inclusion are discussed in the following section. Firstly, people's engagement with issues surrounding similarity emphasise the inclusive aspects of intergroup relations. Secondly, findings reveal the use of intergroup differentiation as functional for the inclusion of multicultural elements in the construction of people's identities.

Firstly, the noteworthy finding is that the dominant consensus across both samples is that multiculturalism is part of 'us', because 'we' are all part of the multicultural city, and that there is a boundary drawn that sets the city apart from the rest. On the one hand, sameness is associated with positive elements. The notion of human biological essential sameness, the inevitability of humans merging into one, and the need to accept this as the only tenable human condition, the idea that ideally difference will one day be overcome, and not thought of any longer, and negative judgements evaded – all these positive elements of sameness portray multiculturalism as an inevitable part of 'us' – as a human totality. These arguments clearly foster an ***inclusive notion***. However, this inclusive notion is only associated with the city and exists within its borders. Hence, the argument becomes excluding in nature. As Freud argued long ago: people can be bound together as long as there are others that can '...receive the manifestations of their aggressiveness' (Freud, 1930, p. 61).

People describe how leaving their comfort zone was often combined with feelings of intimidation, insecurity, and fear. Furthermore, findings show that

people define racism, prejudice and other negative appraisals of difference as 'fear of what is different'. These negative appraisals contradict liberal principles. Hence, people actively try to avoid falling victim to fear, and hence try to avoid becoming racist. Inclusive notions around the awareness or appreciation of biologically determined human similarity, assist people in handling the overwhelming feelings of insecurity or intimidation present in dealing with the unknown. In turn, this comfort can buttress open-mindedness, as it offers a 'safe' symbolic breeding ground for openness towards 'others'. Open-mindedness, publicly understood as interest, acceptance, tolerance and understanding, opens up the possibilities of learning about difference.

On this basis, people can appreciate cross-cultural differences and their experiences, such as trying new foods. The findings of this thesis showing how intergroup contact and open-mindedness are interdependent, are strongly supported by the contact hypothesis (Berry, 1984). The *multiculturalism hypothesis* postulates that individuals with a positive and secure sense of their own culture, will have positive attitudes toward other groups, as well as higher self-esteem. In addition, the developmental view assumes that a more secure ethnic identity should be associated with greater acceptance of other groups (Brewer, 1999; Halevy, Bornstein & Sagiv, 2008, Gekeler & Joffe, 2010). This research adds to these findings, because it shows that contact and interaction not only buttresses in-group identity, but leads to the incorporation of the other in the self.

While so far, the common understanding of 'human sameness' has been elaborated, and offers an inclusive perspective on intergroup relations, the following section will look at the construction of differences for intergroup inclusion. Rather than seeing intergroup differentiations as functional for the in-group, in terms of binding people together and increasing their esteem and confidence (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), people's construction of intergroup differentiation in this thesis pertains to another functional use. Through intergroup differentiation, people obtain the possibility of including this difference into the concept of the self. The need for **intergroup differentiation** rests on a desire for **inclusion** in the construction of identity. This echoes Freud's (1930) ideas of the 'narcissism of small differences', the magnification of small differences in order to stay unique.

The London and New York public represent difference, not only as threatening or bad, but also as a positive, desired and valued dimension, subsuming ideas of vibrancy, progression, inevitability and growth. A desire for difference was found to be underscored by an attempt to evade the kind of similarity that is seen as bland, boring and dull. People located negative notions associated with similarity beyond the multicultural city's borders. Through this boundary, multiculturalism is disassociated with the territory outside the city. As multiculturalism is associated with youth, progress and trendiness, similarity becomes laden with an old, backward, and stagnant image. Difference becomes enclosed in an imagined urban space. The localization of differences within a defined space provides a platform on which to create identity.

Within the bounded space, difference becomes functional as it poses possible prospects for change of which individuals can avail themselves. Difference becomes commodified, in the form of digestible food, audible music, collectible experiences, memorable social relations and love. Thus, multiculturalism becomes a 'consumable' merchandise. Ideas of symbolic incorporation have been described by Fromm (1997) as two forms of societal order: the socio-economic order of consumerism, and the western principle of individualism.

The first form of consumerism adheres to an idea of swallowing the whole world (Fromm, 1997). The consuming of multiculturalism can function as an ego-builder (Fromm, 1997). The ego becomes the most invested object of wishes for 'consumption', which include body, social status, and notably knowledge, ideas, beliefs, skills and one's self image. In addition, Freud's (1920/1961) notion of constituting the self through the internalization of social others highlights the importance of this finding with regard to identity. Building on Perelberg's (2008) ideas, multicultural elements offer a range of physical or symbolic objects that can be desired when the identification with these objects is sought. In these ways desires sway identificatory processes in the construction of identity. The positive differentiation between self and other in othering processes serves not only the separation of the two, but the collapse at the moment of identification (Gillespie, 2007). Consequently, the 'other' aids the construction of a self-image that is in accordance with one's principle desires. Such desires rest on the normative ground of society's respected

values and principles. Fromm (1997) argues that the norms by which society functions also mould the social character of its members. Accordingly, identification with difference adheres to the western principle of individualism.

The second order, individualism, serves as a master-value in western societies (Joffe & Staerklé, 2007). Individualism is underpinned by the drive to extend the area of self-ownership. Self-ownership pertains to the right and duty to invest one's energy in the success of oneself. This investment can include friendships, lovers, health, travel, art objects, God and one's own ego (Fromm, 1997). The findings of the research described in this thesis show how the majority of people mention the 'possession' of different friends, either culturally or racially. Moreover, the mention of foreign foods in terms of 'healthy food' trends, e.g. sushi and hummus, as well as the profound investment in travel memories and fantasies, all support this modernist claim of 'self-ownership'. The broader the range of diversity on offer, the more building blocks for the construction of an identity are available. Consequently, diversity becomes functional in light of liberal values such as individualism.

An additional western principle is the notion of progress. As sociologist Robert Nisbet finds "...no single idea has been more important than...the idea of progress in Western civilization for three thousand years." (1994, p. 4). Ideas of progress comprise the world becoming increasingly better in terms of science, technology, modernization, liberty, democracy, and the quality of life. A notable finding across both samples was people's anchoring of multiculturalism in progressive city life. The anchoring of multiculturalism in

progress in two western urban contexts, supports the idea that social representations are generated in historically embedded and socially shared knowledge, which is underpinned by culturally embedded values (Moscovici, 1961/1976; 2000). Opposing the ideas put forward by SRT that representations are linked to specific cultural and contextual milieus, representations in London and New York were vastly similar. However, considering the importance of principles of consumerism, individualism and progress in the structure and genesis of representations, this finding is not surprising given that both contexts adhere strongly to these three western principles. Moreover, shared symbols of multiculturalism such as food, further support a representational basis for ego-building projects in western liberal democratic nations. Consequently, identity becomes inherently social, as social representations form a normative basis in people's identity projects. Consciously or unconsciously, social representations link the internal and the external world.

Furthermore, the vast engagement with similarity and difference underpins major pragmatic manifestation of multiculturalism, and constitutes the 'deep structure' of its representation (Liu, 2004). 'Similarity/difference' as the underlying thema of social representations around multiculturalism should be looked at more closely in future research. This is particularly relevant, as themata can have an overarching generative and normative power in the formation of a representation (Moscovici, 2001). The constructions of similarity and difference as either wanted or rejected, and the pragmatic manifestations through which these evaluations are contested offers insights into the

dynamics of the content underpinning intergroup relations. Moreover, Condor (2006) reminds us how the similarities and differences against which multiculturalism are assessed, are limited to the category of the nation-state. Public engagement with multiculturalism is deeply rooted in a nationally circumscribed frame of reference. This has been shown in the extensive discussion about Britishness within the British sample and Americanness within the American sample. Historical anchors relating to multiculturalism strongly pertain to the national history of a place. Attempts to resist the representational practice of reproducing a nationalised understanding of multiculturalism need to be embarked upon in work concerning social exclusion and inclusion (Condor, 2006). Condor (2006) addresses the importance to understand how concerns of social exclusion are expressed in a nationalized frame of reference which reproduces the nationalised representations through which multiculturalism is understood. On this basis possibilities for social inclusion are necessarily rooted in a nationalized understanding. Despite the public's nationalised understanding of multiculturalism, this thesis hopes to offer a step away from such a functionally exclusive differentiation (as in national boundaries) to an inclusive differentiation (Beck, 2006).

In sum, public engagement with multiculturalism pertains to a strong dynamic in relation to similarities and differences. This dynamic can reveal content-based elements relevant for processes of intergroup differentiation and inclusion. Furthermore, while research in the tradition of SIT focuses on the excluding aspects underpinning processes of intergroup differentiation, this

thesis shows that processes of intergroup differentiation can be closely intertwined with aspects of intergroup inclusion. The interplay between intergroup differentiation and inclusion is underpinned by the meanings and evaluations of difference and similarity. These meanings and evaluations in turn are closely linked to the ideological principles that pervade the social landscapes. By showing people's complex use of differences and similarities this thesis highlights not just the 'anguish' but also the possibility of shaping one's life and social relations under conditions of a cultural mixture. The symbols and anchors that manifest these conditions of cultural mixture are discussed in the following section.

9.3 Symbols and Anchors of Multiculturalism

The genesis of pragmatic manifestations pertaining to social representations of a phenomenon is a dynamic and continually evolving process, which is dependent upon both anchoring and symbolization processes (Liu, 2004). In order to shed light on the 'deeper structure' of representations of multiculturalism, key symbolizations (Moscovici, 2000, Joffe, 1999) and emotional (Höijer, 2010) anchors are discussed. Analysis revealed 'food' to be the most prevalent symbol representing multiculturalism. Furthermore, place anchors lay at the heart of people's engagement with the localization and evaluation of multiculturalism. Finally, comfort is the core emotional anchor in public engagement with multiculturalism.

9.3.1 Food as a symbolic anchor – boundary, risk and the internalization of difference

The consumption of food is both intensely personal and profoundly social (Lockie, 2001, p. 239)

Food is the most prevalent symbolic anchor in public engagement with multiculturalism. The meaning of multiculturalism becomes symbolised in culinary imagery. In addition, food metaphorically comes to manifest the underlying ‘similarity/difference’ thema. Moreover, food concretizes the theme via the boundary drawn between the internal body and the external world, and the western notions of self-autonomy, self-control and choice.

The capacity for abstract constructs and values to be conveyed through images of food has also been documented in the context of lay thinking about health and illness in Chinese communities in England (Jovchelovitch & Gervais, 1999). Furthermore, the specific use of culinary imagery has been shown in the context of accounts of British multiculturalism (Condor, 2006). Through food, people engage with multiculturalism on a personal level. More closely, food relates to personal experiences with multiculturalism through the tasting of different foods. In addition, food consumption pertains to social issues.

According to the literature, food can sketch the sensitive issue of taking in or introjecting something foreign. This ‘foreignness’ is associated with risk when foodstuff are consumed, posing risks to health as well as cultural, social and self-identity. However, the internalization of food also fosters modernist projects of individual self-development, autonomy and self-control. While it

seems that multiculturalism is most closely related to issues pertaining to different cultures, races and religions coming together, the 'consumption' of different foods pertains to modern norms of individualism (Joffe & Staerklé, 2007), offering choices to become unique on the basis of the variety of foods available. The following two sections will look at the positive and negative aspects of foodstuff in multiculturalism.

On the positive side, 'food' includes people's interest in learning about ways of enjoying food, and ways in which food adds vibrancy and trendiness to one's life. On the negative side, mention of food includes the discomfort experienced in exposure to new foods, and the negative sensations from foreign food smells.

In line with ideas concerning individualism, research into the concept of 'risk' shows how risk in late modernity is associated with notions of choice, responsibility and blame (Lupton, 2000). Individuals are held accountable and encouraged to regulate themselves. In particular, the concept of risk associated with notions in relation to food consumption has become relevant in modern society. Lupton (2000) argues that people in modern western societies demonstrate an obsession with the content of food consumption, and its relationship to health states. Multicultural foods are talked about in terms of health. Foods like sushi or hummus are healthy foods and *in vogue*. Therefore, food symbols for multiculturalism adhere to the reduction of the risk of unhealthy eating, and shed positive light on multiculturalism.

Mary Douglas in her seminal work *Purity and Danger* (1966) defines the symbolic nature of boundaries across cultures. In the delineation of such boundaries, the human body stands for a metaphor for human societies. In much the same way as people regulate what goes in and out of their bodies, societies and groups create boundaries which regulate what is inside and outside. Central to understanding the relationship between body and food are the concepts of purity and contamination (Douglas, 1966). Contamination occurs when boundaries are transgressed. Food, once chewed becomes 'disgusting' and in the course of digesting, loses the status of food and becomes a bodily substance. Lupton (2000) argues that most feelings of disgust or fear concerning substances occur in an 'in-between' state, when food becomes difficult to categorize. What seems unrecognizable is greeted with fear and loathing, because it appears less controllable and challenges the order of things. In the context of multiculturalism, delineating the boundaries of cultures have also been found in the data. People in this research emphasised different ways of eating, different tastes and different places where to find culturally different foods, where they either felt comfortable or 'unwelcome'. The difficulty of categorising 'foreign foods' and the in-between or ambiguous state of 'foodstuff', may generate feelings of disgust or a 'cultural' threat to the self. Thus, participants expressed feelings of disgust when contemplating 'bad smells' such as in the form of garlic that emanates from/through the skin of people on the bus.

Fischler (1988) extends Douglas' perspective to explore the simultaneous need of people to include diversity in their diets, and to remain being

conservative in their eating habits. He called a double-edged sword the 'omnivore's paradox', which "...lives in the tension, the oscillation between the two poles of neophobia and neophilia" (Fischler, 1988, p.278). Neophobia represents prudence, fear of the unknown, resistance to change. This mirrors the results of this thesis, namely the close-mindedness associated with places outside the city which lack culinary diversity. In contrast, neophilia is associated with the tendency to explore, the need for change, novelty and variety. Neophilia mirrors the food diversity on offer in the multicultural city. Fischler's (1988) distinction into the negative and positive elements of eating is a useful one for further research which might look into people's diets in multicultural settings.

In addition, risks around food can be associated with social risks (Lupton, 2000). These risks stem from the anxiety that arises from the incorporation of something from the external world (outside) into the inside of the body. Taking food in, means making it part of 'us'. The eater '...does not only incorporate the properties of food, but symmetrically, it can be said that the absorption of a food incorporates the eater into a culinary system and therefore into the group which practices it' (Fischler, 1988, pp.280-81). Becoming part of a different cultural group through the ingestion of their food, is symbolically a useful way for people to avail themselves of the diversity in their personal identity projects of becoming – more knowledgeable, more open-minded, more global. Therefore, food consumption acts as a ritual, reinforcing and defining collective identities. However, this ritual can be underpinned by dangers.

Dangers underpinning the eating of 'foreign' foods are looked at in the work on food and cultural groups by sociologist Norbert Elias (1978). Elias emphasises the distinction between the civilised and the uncivilised body. He conceptualises food as a 'social risk' in the sense that the symbolic basis of food is the threat of losing control over one's body, and the cultural meanings associated with this. Hence, being seen to be eating the 'wrong' kinds of food, displaying little knowledge of how to behave in expensive restaurants and so on, are all sources of shame and embarrassment and therefore pose 'social risks' (Lupton, 2000). This thesis' data shows how participants talked about the fear of 'losing face' when exposed to foreign foods. Looking 'idiotic' or not knowing how to eat with chopsticks can be regarded as such a social risk. The notion of 'civilised' ways of eating was implicit in discussions concerning the eating of Ethiopian food, which is eaten with one's hands. Eating with one's hands would appear 'uncivilized' in 'expensive Western restaurants'. Eating with the hands is usually associated with lower social status. An interesting strand of future research could be to look into people's associations in relation to multicultural ways of eating (different eating behaviour) in relation to social status.

However, Fischler's conceptualisation of neophilia and food relates to a positive relationship between identity and food consumption. Rather than being ridden by anxiety and risk, the exposure to new and different foods denotes exploration, the need for change, novelty and variety. All these elements are closely associated with multiculturalism. As a consequence of

such exposure, participants frequently talk about the personal benefits they gain from foods. Learning and fun are amongst such benefits. Furthermore, different forms of foods, and the atmosphere in restaurants, ignite people's fantasies and desire to travel. Learning, fun and travel, in turn are associated with identity work in the sense that people become more of a 'world citizen'. Consequently, positive notions of food substantiate prevalent themes concerning multiculturalism by giving it a manifest 'object' through which experiences are concretized. The concept of neophilia together with lay perspectives on 'foreign' foods, offers fertile ground for future research. The relationship between 'foreign foods' in high modernity and in 'reflexive modernity' across generations, also warrants further research. While the former may be thought of as a time where foreign foods were more likely to have been associated with feelings of disgust, reflexive modernity may be more associated with the variety of choice and individual health in terms of eating foreign foods.

In sum, food, which is perhaps the most prevalent symbol of multiculturalism, represents both possible risks and possible merits with regard to people's identity, and consequently substantiates some of the problematic issues relating to the 'similarity/difference' thema. On the one hand, by taking 'foreign' food into one's body, one 'consumes' difference with a view to making it part of the 'self'. On the other hand, the exposure to 'foreign' food can also lead to both personal risk (disgust, cultural threat to the self) and social risk (source of shame and embarrassment, losing social status).

9.3.2 Geographic imagery as a place anchor for multiculturalism

In addition to food as a symbolic anchor for multiculturalism, geographic imagery is rendered as an important place anchor for multiculturalism. These serve a number of functions. Four main geographical territories could be identified in this research. These include the world as a whole, the city as representative of the world, the neighbourhoods as cultural composition of the city and the street as the place where multiculturalism manifests itself. In addition, the places 'beyond the city' were constructed as antithetical to the meanings associated with the city. The research looking into the relationship of place, space and identity and offers some interesting insights for the findings of this thesis regarding place anchors for multiculturalism.

Urban spaces are a major object of inquiry within the field of environmental psychology (Bourg & Castel, in press). One strand of research within environmental psychology focuses specifically on the representations and personal evaluations of urban spaces. Representations of a place are understood as a synthesis of both physical settings and people who occupy such settings. The idea that territory is socially constructed (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992; Marchand & Weiss, 2006) is illustrated in what has been called 'place attachment' (Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001). Place attachment is "...an affective bond or link between people and specific places" and a "desire to maintain closeness to such places" (Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001, p.274). In addition, place attachment is imbued with meaning. A place is a centre of

meaning based on human experience, social relationships, emotions and thoughts (Stedman, 2002).

In their study, Hidalgo and Hernandez (2001) found that while neighbourhood attachment is high, city attachment is significantly higher (Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001). The findings of this thesis show that the city was unanimously represented in a positive image as a 'mirror of the world', while neighbourhoods offered more ambivalent messages (exploring cultures versus crime and danger) about this coming together of the entire world. Further studies could consider representations of multiculturalism in investigating place attachment in urban settings more systematically.

In addition to place attachment studies, place identity has been theorized. Place identity is one's personal location within social life (Hewitt, 1991). Identity is a crucial component of place, as through the extensive interaction with a place, people can begin to define themselves in terms of that place. The symbolic meanings on which place attachment rests, interact with identity, because one can attribute meaning to landscapes and, in turn, can become attached to the meanings (Stedman, 2002). Place identity is characterised by a person's inability to express who they are without inevitably taking into account the setting that surrounds them (Ryden, 1993). Stedman (2002) compares ideas stemming from SCT (Turner, 1978) with those of place identity. More precisely, the idea that role-person merger may occur when a role becomes critical to one's self-definition (Turner, 1978). Important places

may be crucial to self-definition and place-person merger may occur (Stedman, 2002).

Findings presented in this thesis support this idea, as symbolic meanings that underpin the multicultural city indeed pertain to identity-relevant elements such as open-mindedness, tolerance and challenging oneself. Moreover, places in a multicultural urban setting can ignite fantasy about other places that merge with people's desires. Such desires may lie at the root of behaviour intentions. The belief that travelling to distant lands leads to experiences from which one can learn, and therefore broadens one's horizon could, on a smaller scale, be related to one's willingness to 'travel' to different neighbourhoods and expose oneself to certain cultural foods or events. The introjection of such experiences that relate to specific places can be understood as place-person merger. Interestingly, participants who evade a national identity ('I wouldn't like to call myself British') frequently adopted a localised city-identity ('I am a Londoner'). Commonly, these localised city-identities related to the notion of being a 'global citizen' or 'a global player'. The relationship between personal identity projects, place identity and multicultural urban spaces, provides fertile ground for further research.

However, in line with the critique that SCT focuses on individual processes that neglect the role of the social, work on place identity has been critiqued for encompassing cognitions about the physical world in which individuals live (Bourg & Castel, in press). These cognitions include memories, ideas, feelings, attitudes, values, and preferences about environments. Such work

has been said to neglect the social dimension of environment, because a living place is also—and perhaps most of all—a place of socialization and sociability (Bourg & Castel, in press).

Work that focuses on more social conceptions of place identity looks at the quality of the relationships maintained with individuals occupying an environment. These relationships address the processes involved in place identification. Place identification is supported by the physical dimensions of the place and the social environment associated with it (Twigger-Ross, Bonaiuto, & Breakwell, 2003). It may be said that underlying the identity image of 'I am a Londoner/New Yorker' rests what has been coined the 'fluid identification processes' that support the illusion of a unitary identity (Perelberg, 2008). Place identification may lead to one's identity, one's mask, which is presented in terms of 'I am this (and not that)' (Perelberg, 2008).

The city offers a sense of cohesiveness to identity images. It is through the attachment to place that feelings of security can be engendered. Consequently, one's identity could become anchored in a secure object relation with place. Indeed, security has been identified as an important factor for place attachment. Matei, Ball-Rokeach and Lunchuan Qiu (2001) observed that inhabitants of Los Angeles felt most uncomfortable and insecure in areas that were feared because of high crime rates. Interestingly, they claim that the most feared areas were those occupied by African-American and Latino-American populations. Quillian and Prager (2001) also found that perceptions of insecurity in a neighbourhood is influenced by stereotypes about certain

minority groups in such a neighbourhood. Fear about certain neighbourhoods thus seems to be 'colour-coded' (Bourg & Castel, in press).

Identificatory processes can adhere to modes of social thinking about places. Consensual images of the city as a place that is young, progressive and liberal might become internalized. In this way, identity is anchored in social space. Perelberg (2008) suggests that '...identifications and identity are part of the same movement, a dialectic between images and desires' (p.84). The present findings show that the city is beset with a particular symbolic content. Certain content becomes desirable for introjection (e.g. the image of the wholeness of the world) while other content is rejected or projected (e.g. the bad smells of certain foreigners or high crime associated with certain neighbourhoods). In this way, positive elements are sought within urban spaces. In sum, images of the city underlie identifications, because the desire to be part of what the city represents stimulates such identificatory processes. On the other hand, identity is forged through the introjection of the positive images the city presents, which forges a desired city-identity.

In light of the finding that identity is anchored in multicultural social spaces, an interesting study by Bourg and Castel (in press) is briefly described. Bourg and Castel propose a new model for looking at the subjective evaluations of sectors in an urban area and their associated populations. Basing their research on a social representations framework, they investigate psychological processes of representing and interpreting the urban space. Their aim is to construct psychosocial maps to represent evaluations of urban

areas. Their finding, that specific populations are associated with specific urban areas in social representations of a city, corroborates the results of this thesis. However, while negative associations were associated with neighbourhoods that are predominantly minority populated, those neighbourhoods also constitute important elements for people's personal place identity projects. Such elements include, for example, the opportunity to step out of one's comfort zone, thus challenging oneself and therefore subscribing to ideas of open-mindedness. In turn, ideas of open-mindedness are specific to the content of what constitutes a city-identity.

Bourg and Castel (in press) cite Felonneau (2003) who noted that "...we are struck to see the extent to which the desire to live near similar people is outstanding and how much the representations of urbanity prove to be excluding" (p. 166). Ways in which the city has been constructed against the realm beyond the city borders in public engagement with multiculturalism is an interesting finding with regard to excluding representations and support Felonneau's (2003) claim. Urbanity as including or excluding in the construction of identities in multicultural contexts are interesting ground for future research.

In a critique of approaches to space in the social sciences, Gupta and Ferguson (1992) argue that space has been traditionally conceptualised through images of break, rupture and disjunction. Accordingly, space is a neutral grid on which cultural differences and societal organization are inscribed. Space here functions as an organizing principle in investigations of

cultural differences (Gupta and Ferguson, 1992). One of the problems this leads to is the implicit mapping of cultures onto places to account for multiculturalism. Cultural differences within one locality are associated with the idea that cultures lost their moorings in 'their' places, and now need to be subsumed within a general national identity, and their legitimacy negotiated in relation to a dominant culture, which claims the place as 'theirs'. This results in a naturalized association between culture and place in multicultural settings.

Gupta and Ferguson (1992) claim that the '...irony these days [is, that while] actual places and localities become ever more blurred and indeterminate, *ideas* of culturally and ethnically distinct places become perhaps even more salient' (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992, p.10). However, the results of this thesis show that people seek to be progressive and, in doing so, need to identify and localise differences that can then be introjected in the light of pursuing identity projects in terms of becoming a 'global player'. Based on the assumption that there is natural association between culture (American culture), people (American people) and place (America) (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992), ways in which people locate certain populations in certain neighbourhoods for the exposure to a certain culture is pertinent. In this way 'difference' can be used for personal gains.

9.3.3 Emotional anchoring in the Comfort Zone

Multiculturalism is closely associated with questions surrounding the feeling of comfort. Highly prevalent throughout the samples were ideas concerning similarity and difference, underscored by comfort. Participants frequently conjured up the idea that the natural human thing to do is to assimilate with those that are similar, because they are familiar, which in turn leads to feeling comfortable. The comfort zone is the imagery space where boundaries are drawn between the world of trustworthy familiarity and similarity, and contrasted against wariness, strangeness and difference.

Considering the central location of comfort in lay people's engagement with multiculturalism, surprisingly little work has emanated from the social sciences on comfort. Usually, comfort is operationalised as a 'lack of anxiety' (Cole & Yip, 2008). This is in accordance with the dominance of deficit models in psychology of racial and ethnic minorities, and addresses the need for a positive dimension in research on multiculturalism as outlined in this thesis. One study of inter-racial contact conceptualised comfort as strength in a multicultural society (Cole and Yip, 2008). This section will outline ways in which comfort symbolizes multiculturalism, and serves as a first step to combine social representations of multiculturalism and the concept of comfort.

Recent critique stemming from social representations work, claims that research neglects emotions such as nostalgia and compassion (Hoejer, 2010). Introducing the concept of 'emotional anchoring', Hoejer (2010) refers

to communicative processes by which a phenomenon is attached to well-known positive or negative emotions. Emotionally loaded talk, metaphors or images anchor a topic in feelings of threat and danger, or as something nice and pleasurable. Furthermore, a phenomenon can also be emotionally symbolised. By emotionally symbolising multiculturalism in the comfort zone, it becomes emotionally localised. Places of comfort and places outside the comfort zone become circumscribed.

Much of the content underpinning issues to do with similarity and difference is concretized via the comfort zone. Therefore, the comfort zone can be said to be an organizing principle for concerns surrounding similarity and difference (see Figure 34). People can position themselves in two ways with regard to the comfort zone. Depending on whether people step out of their comfort zone or remain within it, similarity and difference can be experienced differently. Implications of such positioning are twofold. One can remain within the protection of similarity, which can lead to difference being perceived as threat but also having intimidating fascination. Conversely, one can seek exposure to difference, which can yield a critical viewpoint on 'similarity' but also run the danger of 'de-exoticising' difference or, in Moscovici's term, 'making the unfamiliar familiar' and therefore evading difference. This is a functional implication of social representation processes, yet people also associate 'dullness' with the creation of familiarity. Maybe, people need to keep the 'unfamiliar unfamiliar' in order to evade similarity. This seems to be only achieved if the 'other' can remain locked within their 'otherness'.

Engagement with the comfort zone addresses its permeability. The need for the protection of the comfort zone can create an impenetrable space, where all that is strange and different remains sealed outside. Conversely, an awareness of difference, and learning about different cultures, can increase permeability because, in the process of becoming familiar with difference, one also becomes more comfortable with it. Through interaction, familiarity can grow, and thus a comfortable relationship can ensue. The city as a container for variety and exposure to difference, therefore becomes the place offering fertile ground for the seeds of comfort to grow.

In contrast to opening up one's comfort zone as a symbol for open-mindedness and tolerance, intolerance is associated with closing off and making one's comfort zone impenetrable. In the light of this, difference remains systematically located outside the comfort zone. This is substantiated by people's talk of feeling like standing out as 'the only different one', which leads to feeling uncomfortable.

Representations varied between majority 'white' and minority respondents. Frequently, minority, foreign and dual nationals constructed the city as a place where comfort can be found in terms of one's identity. The availability of different communities or other 'multicultural' people, offered the availability of sameness. In turn, white nationals regularly constructed the city as a place initially outside their safe comfort zone. Here, comfort was associated with processes of normalization. Moving into multicultural environments led the participants to talk about a 'normalization' process, which led to the point

where diversity 'becomes normal and not even attended to anymore'. Travel is a significant player in the emotional play of comfort as it is associated with leaving one's comfort zone. Travel is the prime mean of experiencing the outside of one's comfort zone. In contrast, some people remain within their comfort zone and don't intend to leave it – e.g. by not going to neighbourhoods that are populated by minorities.



Figure 34: Comfort as Organizing Principle in Engagement with Multiculturalism

Positioning towards the comfort zone and its implications can lead to two outcomes. Stepping out of one's comfort zone and exposing oneself to difference can lead to innovation of the self, while staying inside one's comfort zone and protecting the 'self', positions one at a comfortable distance to 'otherness'. Difference in the former becomes an imperative for multicultural societies to continue to offer the fruitful possibility of personal innovation through the available possibilities of stepping out of the comfort zone and being able to introject difference.

However this relation is more complex than the intolerant person remaining inside and the open-minded explorer stepping outside the comfort zone. As difference is required to give the explorer 'new material to explore', he too has to accept that eventually he stays within the comfort zone, as he introjects difference which then becomes familiar comfort. A symbolic understanding of comfort has thus far not been operationalised within psychological research. This could be a first step in conceptualising 'comfort' for studies on multiculturalism. Future research would need to elaborate on these initial ideas, and should investigate functional implications of the comfort zone for intergroup relations. While dwelling within the comfort zone might relate to identity protective functions, stepping out of it might serve the normative foundation of the value of diversity. Through one's exposure to the space beyond one's comfort zone, diversity becomes personally and emotionally experienced.

9.4. Othering Processes in Public Engagement with Multiculturalism

This research aims to address functional implications of embracing or resisting multiculturalism in hindsight of people's identity work. Through the engagement with similarity and difference, as well as through talk on food, geographical spaces and comfort, people adhere to two ways in which the 'other' is used in order to engage with or distance oneself from multiculturalism. These two forms of 'othering' in light of the cosmopolitanization of the world are discussed below.

9.4.1 Boundary delineation and ‘othering’ processes

‘Cosmopolitanization’ means the internalization of difference, the co-presence and co-existence of rival lifestyles, contradictory certainties in the experiential space of individuals and societies (Beck, 2006). It has become necessary to understand, reflect and criticise difference. In this way one can assert and recognize oneself and others as different. This is what Beck (2006) refers to as ‘dialogical imagination’. Public engagement with multiculturalism shows ample support of specific ways otherness is identified in dialogical imagination. Otherness is identified in social groups, in the places where difference becomes anchored, and in cultural symbols such as food. In this way boundaries around differences and similarities are drawn. In addition, boundaries around the city and the non-city regions are drawn. People’s dialogical imaginations surrounding multiculturalism adheres to two ‘othering’ processes, which adhere either to a distancing from and rejection of difference or identification with and embracing of difference.

9.4.2 Multiculturalism and Projective ‘Othering’

On the one hand, findings pertain to an ‘othering’ process described by Joffe (1999; 2001) and Joffe and Staerklé (2007). Work on ‘othering’ pertaining to psycho-dynamic models, shows how the other is used in the processes of identity construction as a container for unwanted and undesired qualities, and as an object to buttress a positive sense of self. Identity is constructed through

processes of projection that require an object of containment. The splitting mechanism at a social level operates in splitting social objects into 'good' social objects and 'bad' social objects (Joffe, 2007; Joffe & Staerklé, 2007). More specifically, Joffe and Staerklé (2007) theorize self-control over body, mind and destiny as key values underlying individualism. Widespread thinking about groups that lack self-control includes derogation, devaluation and disrespect; the 'other' is placed outside the realm of the self in the project of constructing a positive personal or social identity. Such groups are women, children, the mentally ill, the obese, poor but also the culturally 'other' (Joffe & Staerklé, 2007). Through representations of lack of self-control associated out-groups become subject of exclusion and derogation.

This thesis reveals that processes of projection pertain to a spatial dimension, locating the 'bad' outside the city. While representations of certain neighbourhoods supports the idea of particular out-groups becoming associated with derogating representations, this thesis also shows that prevalent in-group/out-group distinctions between racial, ethnic or religious groups, can blur within the space of the city. Rather than racial, ethnic and religious groups representing the defining categories for projective processes, these social categories become bounded in the city. As a whole, the city becomes the imaginary container for introjective processes, while the 'rest of the country' becomes the container for projective processes. Such projective processes tackle particularly those ideas opposing principles of western liberalism. Hence the outside of the city is associated with backwardness, intolerance and closed-mindedness.

9.4.3 Multiculturalism and Introjective Othering

On the other hand, findings also pertain to a further 'othering' process that will be coined 'cosmopolitan othering'. Cosmopolitan othering involves the introjection of 'otherness' into the self on the basis of the requirements of the 'reflexive modernity'. Through the enjoyment of the availability of a vast array of differences, for example through food, music, spaces and so on, consuming difference can function as an ego-builder (Fromm, 1997). People can work on the image they have of themselves, and want others to have of them. Cosmopolitan othering fosters cosmopolitan competence, which addresses ideas of self-ownership in a global world. People cannot only function locally, but globally. International knowledge and experiences, global friendships and global produce are all available to be 'consumed'. Furthermore, it is not necessary to travel anymore in order to consume multicultural elements, which can be found in local multicultural environment. In this way, people can avail themselves everywhere of the benefits multiculturalism offers including the widening of one's horizons, gain of multiple perspectives and ultimately finding the 'best way' amongst an endless array of 'different ways'.

Furthermore, cosmopolitan othering processes foster individualism. Difference as merchandise is used to introject the good elements multiculturalism offers. These elements are then processed for the betterment of the self. Cosmopolitan othering processes underpin cosmopolitan identity projects

(CIP). The construction of the 'other' serves cosmopolitan identity projects by offering a range of possible objects for identification.

Where multicultural elements become internalised or introjected in fantasy, the 'us/them' paradigm collapses (Gillespie, 2007). CIP pertains to complex identifications structure with various multicultural elements being introjected. Therefore, the identification structure is naturally ambivalent. However, identity images are represented as a coherent system representing the 'self' through a cross-cultural identity mask. Further work should address this form of introjective othering in multicultural environments. In addition, the maintenance of the 'other' in the need for difference required by CIP should be addressed further, as it pertains to questions surrounding power in inter-group relations. The 'other' becomes represented as something of which one can avail oneself in the CIP. In turn, the CIP is underpinned by a normative foundation of multiculturalism as valuing diversity and individualism, hence the existence of the 'different other' reflects oneself as knowledgeable, open-minded and progressive.

This section described two othering processes that underlie social representations of multiculturalism. One process of 'othering' is well established, and aims to protect identity through projecting unwanted qualities onto the 'other' (Joffe, 1999, 2007). This thesis adds to this literature a further 'othering process', which constructs the other as a merchandise for the introjection of difference, by forging identity with the functional aim of gaining a cross-cultural identity.

Chapter Summary

This chapter brought together the theoretical strands of argument and the findings of this thesis, and discussed the social representations of multiculturalism as found in the British and American public. Sources causing dialogical tension, as well as sources that create a consensus with regard to major manifestations of multiculturalism were discussed. Furthermore, the strong dynamic relating to similarity and difference that pertains to the deep structure of social representations of multiculturalism was identified and discussed. In addition, pragmatic manifestations of this deep structure, including food as a symbolic anchor, geographical space as a place anchor and comfort as an emotional anchor, were discussed in greater detail. Finally, two othering processes have been identified that address the dynamics relating to social representations of multiculturalism. Underpinning such othering processes is the construction of what has been coined 'cosmopolitan identity projects'.

CHAPTER 10

IMPLICATIONS, FUTURE DIRECTIONS AND CONCLUSION

10.1 Social Representation Theory – Theoretical Implications

The synthesis of SRT with ideas stemming from Social Identity Theory and Psychoanalytic Theories can do more justice to the object under investigation than any individual theory could. SRT offers a theoretical framework with which to identify the anchors and symbols that members of the public use to make sense of multiculturalism. The city, food and comfort are seminal in lay conceptions of multiculturalism. Psychoanalytic theory allows one to identify the processes that people adhere in order to protect their identities and for incorporation of multiculturalism into their identity work. This, in turn, informs key issues addressed by Social Identity Theorists with regard to intergroup differentiation and inclusion. Seeking to incorporate multicultural elements into the self fosters inclusive notions, while seeking to protect the self from multicultural elements promotes exclusive movements. This thesis puts forward a comprehensive theoretical framework to synthesise various compatible strands of theory for understanding the content and processes related to multiculturalism as people subjectively experience it in everyday life. This broad-based theory acts as a critique of the rigid use of binary categories

with which to look at issues of social belonging. Rather than conceptualising social life in multicultural contexts in an 'us/them' fashion, people construct complex ways of conceptualising, evaluating and positioning themselves in this context. The analysis of subjective experiences in multicultural cities reveals contradictions, ambivalence and inconsistencies in lay engagement with multiculturalism. In order to foster a cosmopolitan perspective on late modern ways of life, such complexities should be more often captured in research and the social sciences should pay more attention to them.

Furthermore, addressing Joffe and Staerklé's (2007) critique of the lack of attention paid to the notion of affect in SIT work, this thesis incorporates 'emotional anchoring' or 'emotional symbolization' (Hoijer, 2010). This thesis addresses both negative as well as positive emotive underpinnings in representations of multiculturalism. While Joffe and Staerklé (2007) stressed the importance of symbolic (stereotype) content in intergroup relations, their research focuses on the threatening aspects of the 'other' and in-group protective functions (Joffe, 2001; Joffe, 2007; Joffe & Staerklé, 2007). The importance of symbolic content and positive emotive underpinnings has thus far remained under-researched. This is in line with Jost et al.'s (2004) critique that social and political theories mainly pertain to negative notions, and lack any positive dimension in intergroup dynamics (Fowers & Davidov, 2006). The present work takes an initial step towards closing this gap in the literature by looking at ways in which symbolic content is used via introjective processes in the construction of identities and fosters the development of a 'global' self.

However, conclusions drawn that pertain to these processes are preliminary, and need further investigation.

10.2 Methodological Considerations

In order to reveal social representations of multiculturalism, this thesis availed itself of a systematic strand of Thematic Analysis (Joffe, forthcoming). By using free association tasks and open-ended interviews, this thesis was able to capture spontaneous content underlying public thinking in a naturalistic way, which also gave participants time to think about the object under investigation for as long as they required. In addition, this methodology was well suited to tap into symbolic meaning. While surveys are useful for cognitive approaches that are consciously available to people, they only tap into reason-based explanations (Joffe, forthcoming). Empirically accessing symbolic underpinnings helps to illuminate the meaning and the emotions people attach to issues (Lupton, 1999; Joffe, forthcoming). In addition, the mixed feelings, ambivalences and contradictions that people display with regard to multiculturalism could be elaborated via the method used.

Additionally, Joffe (forthcoming) claims that SRT, themata and thematic analysis share a compatible epistemological position. This thesis confirms this. By applying a social representations framework and thematic analysis, an inroad to understanding themata that underscore representations of multiculturalism can be provided.

The face-to-face approach to a sensitive topic such as multiculturalism has presented challenges. The concept of multiculturalism is overshadowed by a taboo surrounding race, class and religion. Furthermore, the researcher, who was interviewing people of different cultural, ethnic and religious backgrounds, was likely to elicit a range of reactions from different people. His/her cultural otherness to some might have triggered more or less politically correct and socially desirable answers. While such effects cannot be controlled for, the researcher was a constant feature across all interviews and made every attempt to minimise the impact of her presence on the content of the interviews.. Another limitation was the selection of the sample. While the sample was large enough to identify major thematic strands of public thinking, it only represented a mini-version of the demographic make-up of the cities where the research was conducted. In particular, some minority groups were under represented. Even though the research offered an insight into issues pertinent to minorities, no robust conclusion can be drawn given the size of the sample.

Finally, the critique of SRT argues that the theory is too vague (Potter & Wetherell, 1987) and that any set of data could be used to argue for the existence of social representations (Fife-Shaw, 1997). However, this critique has been refuted by Joffe (2003), who argues that SRT aims not to predict public engagement via causal and linear models, but offers a theoretical framework within which the complex subtleties and nuances that underpin common-sense thinking can be unravelled.

10.3 Policy Implications

First, the findings of this thesis underscore the need for policies addressing the management of diversity to pay closer attention to the importance of public engagement with multiculturalism. Policy makers are faced with an increased need to differentiate representations of multiculturalism and immigration, to pay attention to the importance of place representations, to pay attention to identity issues and attitudes towards immigration, and to foster a better understanding of people's worldwide interconnectedness. Second, this need for interconnectedness is addressed by a new policy, namely 'Omniculturalism', put forward by Moghaddam (2010), and considered here.

Regarding the importance of geographical space anchors in representations of multiculturalism, spaces and places might be relevant aspects in people's sense of who should and should not be allowed to claim to belong to a place. A recently published (March 2011) poll by the Searchlight Educational Trust (SET), named 'Fear and Hope', presents attitudes to immigration, identity and multiculturalism based on over 5,000 British participants. It is the largest survey of its kind in the UK. Findings reveal that 63 percent of white Britons, 43 percent of Asians and 17 percent of Blacks consider immigration a bad thing for Britain. This finding is interesting as it shows that people oppose members of 'different' cultures and nations coming to the place they have adopted as their homeland. This corroborates the findings of this thesis that people associate multiculturalism closely with particular places, such as specific

cultures belonging to specific countries, regions, neighbourhoods, and streets. However, the finding of the SET survey, that minorities equally oppose immigration, and thus claim the same place as 'theirs' as do the majority, fundamentally questions the assumed 'reality' behind particular places belonging to particular people.

The survey outlined above hints at a 'territorialisation' of identity. Certainly the findings of this thesis reveal that place attachment and place identity are key players in the construction of common-sense in relation to issues of multiculturalism. People associate multiculturalism with the benefits that culturally diverse spaces in the city offer them for their personal identity projects. However, attitudes on immigration highlight an interesting counterpoint: the construction of identities is strongly linked to the attachment to places. Identity, through the identification with these places, becomes excluding in nature, as 'others' that do not belong to the same place are prohibited from claiming the same identity. Paradoxically, these places that serve the function of including some and excluding others, become 'claimed' by people of many different cultures, religions and races. This interconnectedness needs to be considered carefully by policy-makers.

If one assumes the world to be divided into separate and culturally distinct places, then the question of immigration policy is a question of how much border control is needed in order to maintain the distinctiveness of the place it protects. People's spatially naturalized understanding of cultural difference makes immigration a potentially threatening process (Gubpta & Ferguson,

1992). The threat pertains to the fear of the cultural distinctiveness of places being erased. If, however, policies foster a wider acknowledgment that spaces are interconnected in the sense that they already are (and always were) claimed by various different cultures (Gubpta & Ferguson, 1992), awareness of the ways in which minorities are kept disempowered in certain spaces can become apparent. Economic factors need to be considered along with these points.

In sum, this thesis argues that politicians need to pay closer attention to the range of meanings of 'multiculturalism': on the one hand it is an identity booster, on the other, when linked to immigration, it is an identity threat. In policy, these terms frequently seem to be used interchangeably to address the same issues. Furthermore, a more pronounced understanding of the interconnectedness – spatially but also physically and psychologically – can possibly raise awareness of rights and claims of groups to particular places, and the disempowering consequences this can have for minorities.

With regard to the need to pay closer attention to the interconnectedness of people throughout the world, Moghaddam (2010) suggests a new form of policy. 'Omniculturalism', a policy for managing diversity, addresses the problems inherent in both multiculturalism and assimilation policies (Moghaddam, 2010). The idea underlying the policy of 'Omniculturalism' is that in order for societal relationships to be peaceful and constructive, commonalities between cultures need to be recognised and celebrated before intergroup differences are celebrated. While the end point of assimilation

policy is commonality and a homogeneous society (guided by either minority assimilation or the creation of a melting-pot), the end point of multicultural policy is the celebration of intergroup differences (creating a cultural mosaic).

Based on psychological research evidence, the critique put forward by Moghaddam (2010) poses the problem that neither one of these two policies pays sufficient attention to the interrelationship of people's need for both similarities and differences. Both pose extreme and opposing ways of handling identity distinctiveness (Moghaddam, 2010). On the one hand, assimilation policies that attempt to wash away differences neglect sound psychological support for the human tendency to construct distinct identities (see ideas surrounding the minimal group paradigm in Chapter 2). On the other hand, multicultural policies that do not seek to create one common identity neglect the potentially positive implications of shared similarities and in-group favouritism (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner et al., 1987, in Brown, 2000) in consolidating intergroup relations. The qualitative findings of this thesis support this critique. Social representations of multiculturalism rest on a 'similarity/difference' thema, which constructs the relationship between self and others in complex ways. In addition to psychological research showing the merits or limitations of either intergroup differentiation or intergroup similarity, this research highlights how people represent these interrelationships in complex and ambivalent ways. Omniculturalism attempts to find a middle way between multiculturalism and assimilation policies by first laying out the foundational (evidence-based) commonalities shared by members of different groups, and builds on this foundation to emphasise

distinctive features of these different groups. While Moghaddam focuses on principles of subjective justice and fairness to support the argument for an omniculturalist policy, this thesis adds further support by outlining how people negotiate similarities and differences with the aim of constructing a coherent, autonomous and progressive 'global' identity. People's negotiation is underscored by a dynamic that evaluates both differences and similarities as being good or bad in a variety of combinations. Furthermore, thematic, geographical and emotional symbols and anchors underpin these negotiations in the genesis of a representational structure of multiculturalism. Results presented in this thesis can be informative for furthering policy work that addresses the lay public's engagement with multiculturalism and related issues. Moreover, the results can shed light on ways in which the public makes sense of multiculturalism, and can deepen understanding of the public reception of policy messages.

10.4 Future Directions for Research

This thesis offered insights into public engagement with multiculturalism in two western urban contexts -London and New York. The theoretical and methodological strands linked together in this thesis and the insights into peoples' representations of multiculturalism offer fruitful ground for further research. Tentative thematic proposals for future research are outlined below.

Contact, Identity Complexity and Multiculturalism- it's relevance for identity construction

Roccas and Brewer (2002) introduce the concept of social identity complexity, a construct referring to an individual's subjective representations of the interrelationships among his or her multiple group identities. Testing this theoretical construct Brewer and Pierce (2005) found that the perceived overlap among in-group memberships was negatively related to in-group inclusiveness and tolerance for out-groups. It would be interesting to develop Roccas and Brewer's model of identity complexity by accounting for the ambivalences inherent in people's identity work in multicultural contexts. It can be argued that the introjection of otherness into the concept of the self blurs identity overlap and leads to a new set of identities that cannot easily be disentangled into separate in-group membership categories.

Cross-National Investigation of Representations of Multiculturalism in Cities and Rural Contexts

This thesis looked at public engagement with multiculturalism in two of the world's largest centres of cultural diversity – namely New York and London. It would be interesting to extend this research by including other historical and cultural contexts for comparative work. The findings of this thesis are informative for consolidating this work: results show that respondents in both urban contexts delineate clear boundaries between urban and non-urban. Multicultural urban space is beset with positive values, such as open-

mindedness. Ideas of narrow-mindedness and intolerance are placed outside of the city realm. These findings point to an interesting difference between urban and non-urban spaces. In order to make conclusive statements about the representations of multiculturalism it is important to widen the scope of this research to include public engagement with multiculturalism in non-urban contexts.

The development of cross-national and cross-cultural research is important in gaining a deeper understanding of lay conceptions of diversity and offers fertile ground for a more comprehensive approach to intergroup relations in a global era. In addition, including interdisciplinary and cross-national research groups would result in a more comprehensive picture of 'multiculturalism' in the early 21st Century, across minds and borders.

Further interests for future research have been sketched in the discussion chapter. Similarity and difference as a possible thema needs further elaboration and should be more systematically linked with its pragmatic manifestations, such as food, geographical space and comfort. Moreover, the need to deepen an understanding of the relationship between associations on multicultural ways of eating (different eating behaviour) and social status has been addressed. The concept of neophilia - the tendency to explore, the need for change, novelty and variety - in people's diet offers fertile ground for future research into multiculturalism and food. With regard to place associations, future studies should systematically investigate the interplay between representations of multiculturalism, personal identity projects, place identity

and multicultural urban and non-urban spaces. Furthermore, age and class could be looked at in this context. Another interesting strand for future research is the initial insights into the connection of people's representations of multiculturalism and the symbolic image of the 'comfort zone' provided in this thesis. Further work needs to elaborate these initial ideas and should investigate functional implications of the comfort zone for intergroup relations. Finally, this thesis argues that people adhere to 'Cosmopolitan Identity Projects' (CIP) in light of the two othering processes discussed. The usefulness of this concept needs to be ascertained in future work.

10.5 Conclusion

This thesis has investigated peoples' engagement with multiculturalism in London and New York. The aim was to identify the manifestations of peoples' understanding of multiculturalism, as well as the latent drivers underpinning identity constructive work. The findings reveal the 'city' as the most prevalent place anchor, 'comfort' as the most important emotional anchor, and 'food' as the core symbol in social representations of multiculturalism. Furthermore, people relate to the dialectic between 'similarity' and 'difference' in terms of the interplay between familiarity and fear of the unknown. Similarity has been defined either as a protector against the unknown, or as boring and bland dullness. Difference has been defined either as threatening or as fascinating, and offers possibilities for learning, knowledge and vibrancy.

At the heart of the interplay between similarity and difference lies a dialectic between open-mindedness and close-mindedness. This dialectic creates the normative foundation of two 'othering' processes. Close-mindedness, associated with a fear of the unknown, is related to a projective 'othering' process that serves to protect one's identity by containing unwanted material in an identified 'other'. In turn, open-mindedness is associated with the possibilities of learning and knowledge, and fosters an introjective 'othering' process, whereby elements of otherness that serve the enhancement of personal identities, are taken into the self.

Public engagement with multiculturalism shows that the phenomenon is not placed in the midst of a polarized debate in opposition to assimilation. Making sense of multiculturalism is more than a group differentiation with the purpose of protecting in-group identities. Rather, the debate spans a range of new patterns of interaction which arise from the mixing and intermingling of cultures in one space. This space is a place of invention and transformational encounters, a dynamic in-between space that is imbued with ambivalences, ambiguities and contradictions (Bhabha, 1994). In this space people obtain diverse experiences and absorb them in the making of the self. The multicultural city is the 'mirror' of the world, which fosters an ability to recognize our familiar selves in the strangeness of others.

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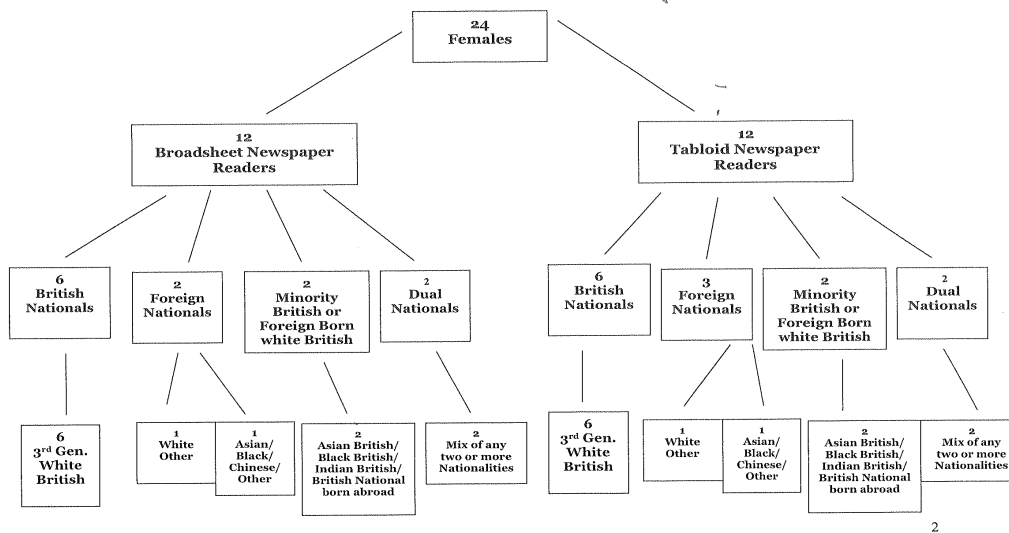
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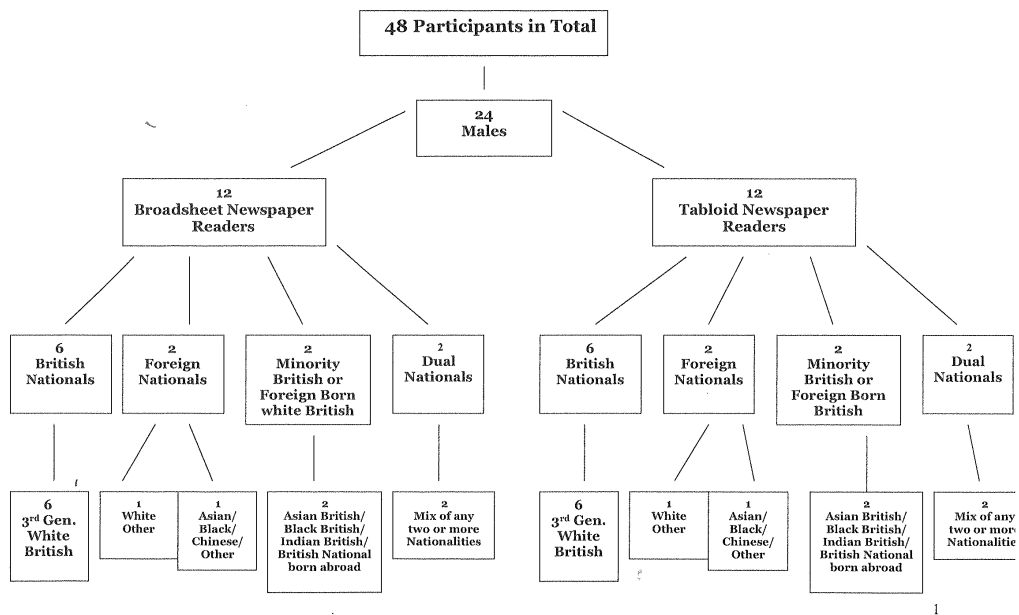
APPENDICES

Appendix A: Sampling Map London

Babette Gekeler – University College London – Doctoral Student – London Sample Characteristics

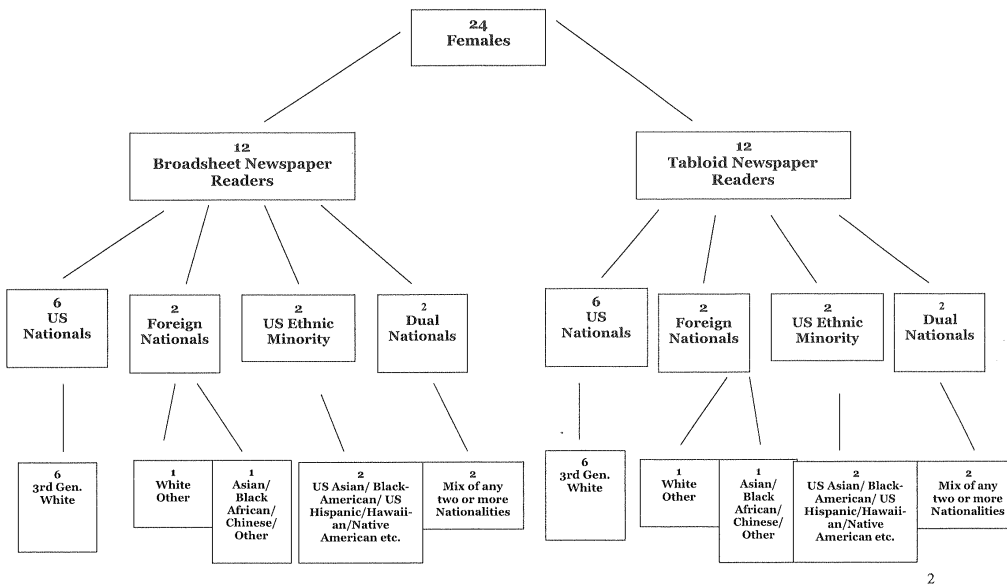


Babette Gekeler – University College London – Doctoral Student – London Sample Characteristics

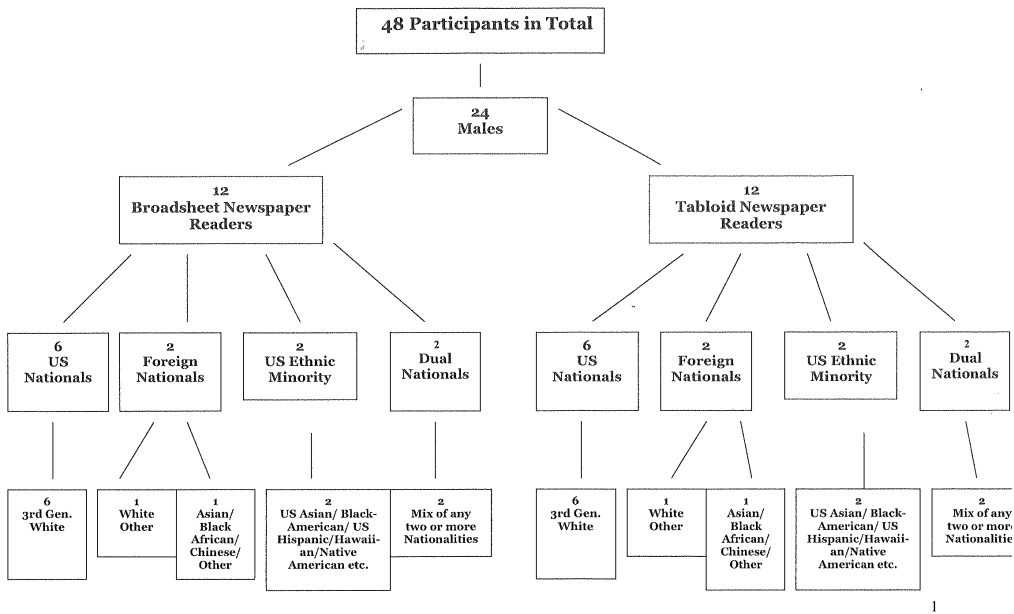


Appendix B: Sampling Map New York

Babette Gekeler – University College London – Doctoral Student – New York Sample Characteristics



Babette Gekeler – University College London – Doctoral Student – New York Sample Characteristics



Appendix C: Free Association Task – Grid Sheet**Instructions:**

I am interested in what you associate with multiculturalism. Please write or draw your associations in the boxes below. Please provide only one thought or image per box. Try to answer as spontaneously as possible.

Appendix D: Pilot Work

The Pilot Study

In order to explore associations around multiculturalism and identity, the pilot sample was chosen with a view to cover both individuals who identify with the majority (white British) as well as mixed identities (whether through bi- or multicultural backgrounds). The two groups were coined 'unified identity group' and 'multiple identity group'. Participants were approached via personal contacts. All participants were known to the interviewer. A basic criterion for selection of all participants was that individuals were urban, young adults living in Britain.

Six individuals living in London from various cultural backgrounds between the ages of 28 and 40 ($m = 37$) were interviewed. Four were males and two female. The time participants have lived in London varied between 3.5 and 10 years. The sample was intended to represent a wide spectrum of cultural backgrounds and cultural identifications: two participants were identified as white British, one as Pakistani British, one as white African, one as black French African, and one as white Polish. One participant indicated ethnic group as being very important, three as important, two as not important or not important at all. Two affiliated with no religion, one with the Catholic Church, one with the Church of Scotland, one with the protestant religion and one affiliated with several religions (Jewish, Buddhist and pagan). Two spent a lot of time and four a little time thinking about religion, or not at all. Three held a degree, two a postgraduate degree and one a building qualification. All participants read broadsheet papers or foreign newspapers and all read the Metro or London Lite. Two had no political leanings, one was Conservative and one a member of the SNP, one indicated Labour, and one detailed being 'socially liberal and fiscally conservative'. Out of the six people interviewed, two belonged to the 'unified identity' and four to the 'multiple identity' group. Group belonging was determined via ethnic background and identification with groups, gauged via statements on the questionnaire. Interviews were

conducted by instructing participants to talk about freely associated material around multiculturalism. The mean interview length was 35 minutes. The pilot study took place between March and June 2009.

Appendix E: Final Coding Frame

Code Name	Description of Content		Content Excluded	Example
SYMBOLISATIONS (associated images, figurative representations, symbols & metaphors about multiculturalism)				
	GROUP 1: CONCRETE SYMBOLISATIONS (P talks about concrete, tangible entities when talking about mc)			
FOOD	P talks about food			e.g. 'I love food from all different cultures' OR 'I don't like any other food than British food'
	THE CORNER SHOP/ GROCER	P talks about encounters with people or items in corner shops/grocery shops	Purely general /descriptive level of shops	e.g. 'the owner of my corner shop is Turkish, he sells all these special foods'
CELEBRATIONS	P talks about festivals or carnivals, including talk about music			e.g. 'there is the Notting Hill Carnival that comes to mind'
DRESS	P talks about cloths/dressing/outfits/ the veil/ etc.			e.g. 'I think of all these colourful Indian or African dresses'
SPORTS	P talks about sports or sports heroes			e.g. 'To me Tiger Woods is a good example of mc'

Code Name	Description of Content		Content Excluded	Example
	GROUP 2: LOCALITY SYMBOLISATIONS (P talks about Places and Spaces in which mc is encountered/ experienced)			
THE WORLD	P talks about the world as a whole or a 'person's world', i.e. 'in my world'			e.g. 'I think about the world, it's so big and there are so many places to go'
THE COUNTRY/ SOCIETY	P talks about the merits and problems of mc for the country/society			e.g. 'it brings a lot of different viewpoints into the country, which makes it stronger'
THE CITY	P talks about aspects of city life		No specific examples about L or NY	e.g. 'in big cities you have much more diversity'
	LONDON /NEW YORK	P talks specifically about London or New York or specific aspects of life in L/NY	No general talk about cities	e.g. 'New York is the most multicultural place in the world' OR 'you don't interact much in London, no one seems to have the time'
OUTSIDE THE CITY	P talks about everything that is not the city, i.e. the countryside, small towns, rest of the country, etc.			e.g. 'in small towns, they are much more backwards, much more small-minded'
THE NEIGHBOURHOOD	P talks about specific neighbourhoods		Only include those neighbourhoods referring to the city of the P (otherwise see 'Fantasies')	e.g. 'in Brixton you become very self-conscious, it makes you uncomfortable'
COMMUNITY	P talks about communities (own or of others)			e.g.. 'and there is an Italian community and we all know each other'
THE STREET	P talks about the public space of streets			e.g. 'you just walk down the street and see so many different

			faces'
THE PUBLIC TRANSPORT	P talks about the underground (subway), the bus, the train etc.	Examples of travel abroad/airplane	e.g. 'when you're on the tube you have people from everywhere sitting together'
BUSINESSES	Purely general /descriptive level of businesses run by ethnic minorities, e.g. shops, restaurants, etc.		e.g. 'and you see shops and restaurants from all cultures in London'
WORK PLACE	P talks about mc in the workplace	Not P's account of work done by immigrant groups but personal experience at P's work place	e.g. 'my team at work consists of 15 different nationalities'
PRIVATE SPHERE/ PERSONAL SPACE	P talks about mc in the private sphere, e.g. 'keep it to oneself'-formulations, or things that should be kept private or not made public; also talk on personal space		e.g. 'they might keep their religion to themselves' OR 'I don't like how certain cultures get to close to you, they invade your personal space'

Code Name	Description of Content		Content Excluded	Example
	GROUP 3: SOCIETAL SYMBOLISATIONS (P talks about notions pertaining to socio-politics/-economics)			
POLITICAL NOTIONS	P talks about political constructs around mc			e.g. 'it has to do with how society deals with immigrants, assimilate them or let them keep their culture'
	PUBLIC SAFETY	P talks about security and safety in society	NOT feelings of safety or security	e.g. 'in New York you can go out late and be safe'
ECONOMIC	P talk about economic structures			e.g.. 'if the Polish workers come and

NOTIONS	to do with mc or BELIEFS around economic reasons for or against mc (e.g. wealth, poverty, class, housing, etc.)		charge less we are not getting any jobs'
RELIGIOUS NOTIONS	P talks about religions in society, symbols of religion, buildings, faiths, etc.		e.g.. 'there are places of worship for every religion in London'
RACIAL UNDERPINNINGS	P talks about races, racism, ethnocentrism, etc.		e.g. 'race still matters'
NOTIONS OF GENDER RELATIONS	P talks about (the role) of men and women		e.g. 'here in America men and women are equal'
'THE DAILY MAIL READER' or MEDIA METAPHORS	P makes specific comment about tabloid newspaper readers	No particular stories from the media – just media representation in general	e.g. 'my dad, he is the classic Daily Mail reader, an armchair critic'
STATISTICAL ARGUMENTS AROUND MC	P tries to argue his point with the help of statistical arguments		e.g. 'I don't know the statistics, but I think it's a lot of Polish immigrants here now'
BRITISHNESS/ AMERICAN-NESS	P talk about English/American culture, what it means, what it represents, etc.		e.g. 'I don't really know what it means to be British?' OR 'I guess British culture is fading out' OR 'America stands for freedom'
ADDITIVITY	P talks about mc adding or lessening something by using formulations such as 'more', 'less', 'it adds', 'it takes away', 'the larger picture'		e.g. 'it's important it adds to the arts and my knowledge and enjoyment' OR 'mc is more than one culture' OR 'if it's less people it's more friendly'
AGE NOTIONS	P talks about older people, teenager, generations (old/young)		e.g. 'I think older people think differently about this' OR 'the problems are those teenagers'

Code Name	Description of Content	Content Excluded	Example
<p style="text-align: center;">IDENTITY WORK (in talk about mc, P engages aspects of personal identity or group identity)</p>			
	<p style="text-align: center;">GROUP 1: PERSONAL INWARD-ORIENTATED IDENTITY (P talks about issues that relate to P as a person)</p>		
BENEFITS FOR THE SELF	P talks about the benefits he/she gains from mc	NOT benefits for society or others, ONLY for the speaker	e.g. 'I became more knowledgeable and well-rounded' OR 'it widened my horizon'
COMFORT/ DISCOMFORT	P mentions 'comfort', feelings of discomfort, leaving the comfort zone, feeling comfortable, etc.	EXPLICIT mention of comfort only	e.g. 'in London you have to step out of your comfort zone'
CITY-BASED IDENTITY	P talks about personal views		e.g. 'I love being in London, I will never leave' OR 'I totally feel like a Londoner, young, progressive, open-minded and liberal – it's all to do with mc'
PERSONAL EXPERIENCE	Accounts of personal diaspora, experiences with mc, first encounters with mc, travel experiences		e.g. 'I felt disorientated when I came back' AND 'These were the reasons for me to come here' AND 'it's good, it's different, it's experiencing things'
	PERSONAL	P talks about	e.g. 'in Italy I

	EXPERIENCE WITH CULTURAL OTHERNESS	personal experiences with cultural otherness (feeling different from the rest)		feel more English, in England more Italian' OR 'I didn't get the job cause I was gay'
	PUTTING ONESELF IN SHOES OF OTHERS	P talks about how it is/must be/could be/ would be to be another		e.g. 'I cannot imagine how hard it must be for them to come over here'
	EXPATRIATE PATRIOTISM	P talks about feeling more like his background since living abroad	ONLY for minority and foreign national Ps	e.g. 'I feel more German since I have moved to London'
	SELF EXPRESSION /BEAUTY	P talks about being able to express oneself, ideas of beauty		e.g. 'Every culture expresses itself though their own definitions of what is beautiful'
	RENUNCIATION OF SELF	P talks about denying REAL identity OR wishing to be something different		e.g. 'I always tell people I am Canadian rather than American' OR 'I even wished I wasn't a Muslim but a Jew, they have more privileges'
	KEEPING FACE	P talks about how to avoid embarrassment in mc moments		e.g. 'I always order the same when I go for Chinese, I know how to pronounce it and I know how it tastes'
PERSONAL HISTORY	P talks about traditions, the parental intention to maintain a culture in the new country, the notion of 'home', upbringing			e.g. 'if there is a parent who is culturally aware I think the child picks it up' AND 'I don't know where home is'

	PERSONAL HISTORY OF OTHERS	P talks about the upbringing of people, their home, their background, i.e. parents, family		e.g. 'It all starts in the home, it's how your parents brought you up'
	'I AM' REPRESENTATION	P talks about what a person he/she is		e.g. 'I am very tolerant'
	MC SELF	P describes self as multicultural by birth/ background, talk about reconciliation between identities	Not implicit meaning, only if P states clearly that he/she is mc	e.g. 'having a multicultural background myself sometimes I feel I don't fit'
	'WHERE I AM FROM'	P talks about background demographics		e.g. 'I grew up in' OR 'I am from a place in Sussex' OR 'I wanted to break out of this small-minded place'
	NOSTALGIA	P talks about former times and places in a positive tone (backward-looking)		e.g. 'it was nice, I am from Texas, the whiskey gave my home-town a real sense of identity'
	NON-NOSTALGIA	P talks about old times and places and in a negative tone, or the new city as all positive (see also city-based identity) (forward-looking)		e.g. 'my home town is so small-minded I would never go back, I am a New Yorker now'
	INITIAL STRUGGLE	P talks about initial difficulties in the new country		e.g. 'opening a bank account was a nightmare – you forget how hard it was at the beginning'
HEALTH/	P talks about health issues, hair care, skin care, P talks			e.g. 'the boy came up to

PERSONAL HYGENE & SEXUALITY	about sexuality, promiscuity			him and offered him a blowjob – he must have been 5' OR 'white ladies with their mixed kids don't know what to do with the hair, it looks dry'
RACIALISED EXPERIENCE	P describes experiences of self as racialized			e.g. 'I feel looked at because I speak so loud' OR 'he looks at me and starts talking in street slang'
	WHITENESS AS EXPER- IENCE	P talks about becoming self-conscious of being white or describes white back-ground (e.g. as boring)		e.g. 'walking in Brixton I felt like a minority'
NORMALIZATIO N	P talks about mc becoming normal, going unnoticed after some time of being immersed in it		ONLY the process of mc becoming normal, unnoticed, accepted etc. for the person	e.g. 'at first you have to get used to it a little bit' OR 'first I was shocked but now I hardly notice it anymore'
LEARNING	P talks about learning or the willingness to learn or not to learn; also talk about knowledge and informed decision making			e.g. 'if you are willing to learn it's important, it leads to acceptance and innovation' OR 'if you are not willing to learn you have no connection to those people and you can end up isolated'

Code Name	Description of Content	Content Excluded	Example
	GROUP 2: GROUP/ OUTWARD-ORIENTATED IDENTITY (P talks about self in relation to others [people, cultures, groups, nations])		
DIFFERENCE	P talks about differences; as interesting, as comparison, as fascination, as good/learning, as fearful, as empty container (when P cannot find an alternative way of describing something)	ONLY with explicit mention of the word DIFFERENCE	e.g. 'multiculturalism is difference – it's a good thing' OR 'different nationalities are always headline news' OR 'different cultures have different people' OR 'fear of what's different/fear of the unknown' OR 'in China they do it different...just different'
SIMILARITY	P talks about similarity or familiarity		e.g. 'Obviously we are all quite similar, we like the same food, we speak the same language'
INCLUSION & EXCLUSION	P talks about inclusion, exclusion, inclusiveness, sticking together, fitting in or standing out		e.g. 'I think it's important we include people, not exclude them' OR 'you fit in because you're not the only different one'
CONTACT & EXPOSURE	P talks about contact and/or exposure to other cultures/groups etc.		e.g. 'I think exposure doesn't always make you love other cultures'
BLAME & OTHERNESS	P talks about how other groups/people/nations etc. are blamed for something		e.g. 'you have to justify your children going to war, so you blame someone else'

SELF & OTHER	P talks about the self and others in one of the following ways			
	P represents self through eyes of others or the STEREOTYPE of Others about P			e.g. 'I feel that if I say I am a Christian I am looked upon as a good person'
	P talk about others (specific examples of people P knows)			e.g.. 'I have a friend from Ruanda whose family got all killed'
THE BELIEFS OF 'OTHERS'	P talks about opinions and debates, in terms of what others think, say, 'what I have heard', etc.; also people's prejudices and judgements, e.g. 'most people are so judgemental'			e.g. 'it brings a lot of opinions and debates cause different people have different views' OR 'a lot of people have the opinion that they come here and take our jobs'
TALK ABOUT GROUPS	P talks about groups in general or a specific group (culture etc.) in particular, e.g. relations between particular groups/cultures/ races/religions etc., multiple groups, social networks			e.g. 'it's the Africans against the Afro-Caribbean's...' OR 'there are so many groups - gays and disabled' OR 'you can be Italian or Spanish but then both are Medit. as well'
FAMILY	P talks about family matters (siblings, parents, close or extended family)		ONLY matters of speaker's family	e.g. 'I learned how to cook Italian food from my family'
	INTERRACITAL/ -CULTURAL MARRIAGE	P talks about IR/IC marriages	ONLY generally or as experienced by P	e.g. 'there are not so many interracial marriages as you would think' OR 'my husband is Puerto Rican'
FRIENDSHIPS	P talks about personal friendships			e.g. 'I have friends from everywhere' OR 'I have Chinese, French, Italian friends'

Code Name	Description of Content	Content Excluded	Example
EMOTIONAL RESPONSES (any emotional underpinnings in talk around multiculturalism)			
	GROUP 1: Positive Responses		
TRENDINESS	P talks about being trendy		e.g. 'being multicultural I feel now it's trendy'
ENJOYMENT/ HAPPINESS	P talks about enjoyment and/or happiness		e.g. 'you can just enjoy so much diversity and it makes you really happy'
EXCITEMENT	P talks about excitement		e.g. 'it makes the place really exciting'
FUN	P talks about fun		e.g. 'it's just fun'
FEELING GOOD/NICE FEELINGS	P talks about feeling good		e.g. 'learning different things makes me feel good about myself'
FEELING KNOWLEDGABLE	P talks about feeling knowledgeable		e.g. 'I feel more knowledgeable about the world'
PRIDE	P talks about pride		e.g. 'I take pride in knowing people from here and there'
PROGRESSIVE	P talks about being progressive		e.g. 'London is progressive – I feel like a Londoner'
BOREDOM	P talks about feeling boring in places that are not mc (reverse code)		e.g. 'it is very boring where I grew up so I wanted to leave'
FEELING FORTUNATE	P talks about feeling fortunate of any aspect of mc life		e.g. 'it is very boring where I grew up so I wanted to leave'
FEELING SAFE/SECURE	P talks about feelings of safety		e.g. 'so compared to home here I feel more secure'
LOVE	P talks about love (of God, people, a city, a		e.g. 'I loved Denmark, I loved Denmark, I loved Denmark, it was the

	life-style etc.)		Garden of Eden'
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Code Name	Description of Content	Content Excluded	Example
EMOTIONAL RESPONSES (any emotional underpinnings in talk around multiculturalism)			
	GROUP 2: Negative Responses		
FRUSTRATION	P talks about frustration		e.g. 'sometimes it can be frustrating with the language barriers'
ANGER/UPSET	P talks about being angry or upset		e.g. 'they ask me if we live in tents – it made me really upset'
FEAR/THREAT	P talks about fear		e.g. 'it's the fear of the unknown'
INSECURITY	P talks about insecurity		e.g. 'it makes me feel insecure to speak in a different language'
FEELING BAD	P talks about feeling bad		e.g. 'they oppose building the mosque – it makes me feel really bad'
FEELING DULL	P talks about feeling dull		e.g. 'I feel so dull, like where I come from is nothing special'
JEALOUSY/ ENVY	P talks about jealousy or envy		e.g. 'seeing all these different styles of cloths, you just wish you had a wardrobe like this'
SADNESS	P describes feeling sad about some aspects to do with mc		e.g. 'I was just sad, why we couldn't attain to that level of equality'
FEELING VULNERABLE/ UNSAFE	P talks about how he/she, a person or a country can become/feel vulnerable via aspects of mc		e.g. 'I think too much diversity, it can hurt us in some sense'
FEELING ON	P talks about		e.g. 'you have to watch your words,

GUARD	feeling on guard in a mc context		be careful what you say'
FEELING LIKE A STRANGER	P talks about feeling like a stranger	ONLY Explicit mentioning of feeling stranger	e.g. 'I came here and I felt like a stranger'
INDIFFERENCE	P takes an indifferent stance		e.g. 'I don't take much notice, I don't really care'

Code Name	Description of Content	Content Excluded	Example
FANTASIES (descriptions of hypothetical images, imaginary thought)			
	GROUP 1: THE HIDDEN (P talks about something outside of the obvious, observable, perceivable)		
THE HIDDEN	See above	ONLY what is taking place in fantasy	e.g. 'who knows what they do in their houses, maybe they pray'
	GROUP 2: THE VEIL (P talks about his imaginations around the veil)		
FANTASIES AROUND THE VEIL	See above	ONLY talk around the Veil	e.g. 'I always wonder what she wears underneath – maybe nothing'
	GROUP 3: IN DISTANT LANDS (P talks about something far away that he/she never experienced personally)		
FAR AWAY FANTASIES	See above	ONLY fantasy	e.g. 'I think in Africa they still have these weird rituals – but I have never been

			there'
	GROUP 3: THE IDEAL (P talks about an ideal person, place, world)		
THE IDEAL	See above	ONLY explicit material on an 'ideal'	e.g. 'Ideally you want American to move that direction, but that's an idealistic mindset'

Code Name	Description of Content		Content Excluded	Example
ANCHORS (relating ideas to existing ideas – MC as norm/value)				
HISTORICAL ANCHORS	P talks about history or historical events			e.g. ‘this mixture is what history has been leading up to’
RESPECT/ UNDERSTANDING	P talks about respect and/or understanding			e.g. ‘respecting different cultures is important’
OPEN-MINDEDNESS	P talks about open-mindedness (in a place, a person etc.)			e.g. ‘London is all about open-mindedness, that is why mc works’
	SMALL- /NARROW-MINDED-NESS	P talks about opposite of open-mindedness		e.g. ‘where I am from it is so narrow-minded, really, really bad’
INTOLERANCE/ PREJUDICE → NEGATIVE NOTIONS	P talks about negative sides of mc – .e.g. intolerance, prejudice, hate, stereotypes etc.			e.g. ‘overexposure breeds intolerance’
POSITIVE NOTIONS	P talks very generally about mc as a good thing		NO concrete notions that fit elsewhere	e.g. ‘mc is nice, it’s a good thing’
HUMANITY	P talks about humanity as an essential part of mc			e.g. ‘we are all humans’
METLING POT	P refers to ideas of the Melting Pot			e.g. ‘New York is a melting pot’
GLOBALISATION	P talks about globalization			e.g. ‘It’s all to do with globalisation now’

TERRORISM	P talks about terrorism		e.g. 'it's a fear of terrorism that makes people react like this'
DIVERSITY	P talks about diversity (as a general terms or in terms of 'diversity policy' at work etc.)		e.g. 'I don't think it's good to hit a quota of diversity just for the sake of it'
FREEDOM	P talks about freedom, any form of (speech, expression etc.)	ONLY mention of freedom	e.g. 'it's tricky with the freedom of speech'
EQUALITY	P talks about equality, e.g. between men and women		e.g. 'in America there is equality between men and women'
AUTHENTICITY/ ACCURACY	P talks about issues that are more or less authentic or accurate about mc		e.g. 'a mc city like London is a more accurate representation of the world' OR 'the Indian food here really tastes like the one in India, it's authentic'
WEST/ WESTERNISATION	P talks about the west, westernisation, the spread of westerns goods/knowledge/etc. around the world		e.g. 'multiculturalism it's a western thing, isn't it?'
PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY/ SELF-CONTROL	P talks about problems or bad/good causes being brought about not by cultures/races etc. but by individuals		e.g. 'everybody is a good or a bad person, no matter the race or background'

Code Name	Description of Content	Content Excluded	Example
COMMUNICATION (aspects around Media and Communication)			
MEDIA AND MULTICULT.	P talks about sensationalism around mc in the media		e.g. 'there was this story on telly with this African family with 20 children – can you imagine?'
LANGUAGE & COMMUNICATION	P talks about the importance of language in communication in mc environments		e.g. 'if you don't speak the same

			language it is really hard to overcome those barriers'
	BILINGUALISM/ MULTILINGUALISM	P talks about speaking more than one language (P's languages or different languages spoken in society more generally)	e.g. 'I can speak Mandarin, so I can turn my English in the same way that they would think of it in Mandarin'
MISCELLANEOUS	All content that does not fit in any of the above categories		